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PHILOSTRATUS

II



LONDON WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK THE MACMILLAN CO.

PHILOSTRATUS
THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS
OF TYANA

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS AND THE
TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
F. C. CONYBEARE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW AND PRELECTOR OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

II



LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : THE MACMILLAN CO.

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PHILOSOPHY

THE LIFE OF APOLO
OF THE

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
F. C. COZBURN, M.A.
LONDON: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1904.

IN TWO VOLUMES

II



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PHILOSTRATUS

BOOK VI

ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

Ζ'

Ι

CAP.
1

Αἰθιοπία δὲ τῆς μὲν ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ πάσης ἐπέχει τὸ ἐσπέριον κέρασ, ὥσπερ Ἴνδοι τὸ πρὸς ἔω, κατὰ Μερόην δ' Αἰγύπτῳ ξυνάπτουσα καὶ τι τῆς ἀμαρτύρου Λιβύης ἐπελθοῦσα τελευτᾷ ἐς θάλατταν, ἣν Ὀκεανὸν οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, τὸ περὶ γῆν ἅπαν ὧδε ἐπονομάζοντες. ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτῳ δίδωσιν, ὃς ἐκ Καταδούπων ἀρχόμενος, ἦν ἐπικλύζει πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον ἀπ' Αἰθιοπῶν ἄγει. μέγεθος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀξία παραβεβλήσθαι πρὸς Ἴνδους ἥδε ἡ χώρα, ὅτι μὴδ' ἄλλη μηδεμία, ὅποσαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομασταὶ ἤπειροι, εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον Αἰθιοπία ξυμβάλοιμεν, τουτὶ δὲ ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πράττειν, οὐπω ξύμμετροι πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἄμφω, τοσαύτη ξυντεθεῖσα, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιοι λογισαμένῳ τὰ

PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

BOOK VI

I

ETHIOPIA covers the western wing of the entire earth under the sun, just as India does the eastern wing; and at Meroe it adjoins Egypt, and, after skirting a part of Libya Incognita, it ends at the sea which the poets call by the name of the Ocean, that being the name they applied to the mass of water which surrounds the earth. This country supplies Egypt with the river Nile, which takes its rise at the cataracts (*Catadupi*), and brings down from Ethiopia all Egypt, the soil of which in flood-time it inundates. Now in size this country is not worthy of comparison with India, nor for that matter is any other one of the continents that are famous among men; and even if you put together all Egypt with Ethiopia, and we may regard the river as so combining the two, we could not compare the two together with India, so vast is the standard of comparison. However their respective rivers, the

CHAP.
I
Comparison
of the rivers
Indus and
Nile

CAP. I. Ἰνδοῦ τε καὶ Νείλου· ἐπιρραΐνουσί τε γὰρ τὰς ἡπείρους ἐν ὥρᾳ ἔτους, ὅποτε ἡ γῆ ἐρᾷ τούτου, ποταμῶν τε παρέχονται μόνοι τὸν κροκόδειλον καὶ τὸν ἵππον, λόγοι τε ὀργίων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἴσοι, πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Νείλῳ ἐπιθειάζεται. τὴν δὲ ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἡπείρων πιστούσθων μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς ἄρώματα, πιστούσθων δὲ καὶ οἱ λεόντες καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἀλισκόμενός τε καὶ δουλεύων. βόσκουσι δὲ καὶ θηρία, οἷα οὐχ ἑτέρωθι, καὶ ἀνθρώπους μέλανας, ὃ μὴ ἄλλαι ἡπειροὶ, Πυγμαίων τε ἐν αὐταῖς ἔθνη καὶ ὑλακτούντων ἄλλο ἄλλη καὶ ὧδε θαυμαστά. γρῦπες δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ μύρμηκες Αἰθιοπῶν, εἰ καὶ ἀνόμοιοι τὴν ιδέαν εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὁμοιά γε, ὥς φασι, βούλονται, χρυσοῦ γὰρ φύλακες ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἄδονται, τὸ χρυσόγειον τῶν ἡπείρων ἀσπαζόμενοι. ἀλλὰ μὴ πλείω ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὃ δὲ λόγος ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἵτω καὶ ἐχώμεθα τοῦ ἀνδρός.

II

CAP. II. Ἀφικόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ὄρια, Συκάμινον δὲ αὐτὰ ὀνομάζουσι, χρυσῷ τε ἀσήμεν ἐνέτυχε καὶ λίνῳ καὶ ἐλέφαντι καὶ ῥίζαις καὶ μύρῳ καὶ ἀρώμασιν ἔκειτο δὲ πάντα

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

Indus and the Nile, resemble one another, if we consider their natures. For they both spread their moisture over the land in the summer season, when the earth most wants it, and unlike all other rivers they produce the crocodile and the river-horse; and the religious rites celebrated over them correspond with one another, for many of the religious invocations of the Indians are repeated in the case of the Nile. We have a proof of the similarity of the two countries in the spices which are found in them, also in the fact that the lion and the elephant are captured and confined in both the one and the other. They are also the haunts of animals not found elsewhere, and of black men—a feature not found in other continents—and we meet in them with races of pigmies and of people who bark in various ways instead of talking, and other wonders of the kind. And the gryphons of the Indians and the ants of the Ethiopians, though they are dissimilar in form, yet, from what we hear, play similar parts; for in each country they are, according to the tales of poets, the guardians of gold, and devoted to the gold reefs of the two countries. But we will not pursue this subject; for we must resume the course of our history and follow in the sage's footsteps.

II

For when he arrived at the confines of Ethiopia and Egypt, and the name of the place is Sycaminus, he came across a quantity of uncoined gold and linen and an elephant and various roots and myrrh and spices, which were all lying without anyone to

CHAP.
I

CHAP.
II
Bartering
between
Egyptians
and
Ethiopians

CAP. II Ἀφύλακτα ἐν ὁδῷ σιστῇ· καὶ ὅ τι βούλεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, νομίζεται γὰρ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι· ἀγορὰν Αἰθίοπες ἀπάγουσιν, ὧν Αἰθιοπία δίδωσιν, οἱ δ' ἀνελόμενοι πᾶσαν ξυμφέρουσιν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον ἀγορὰν Αἰγυπτίαν ἴσου ἀξίαν ὠνούμενοι τῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων τὰ οὐκ ὄντα· οἱ δὲ τὰ ὄρια τῶν ἡπείρων οἰκοῦντες οὐπω μέλανες, ἀλλὰ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ χρῶμα, μελαίνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἥττον Αἰθίοπων, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον Αἰγυπτίων. ξυνεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἦθους, “οἱ δὲ χρηστοί,” ἔφη, “Ἕλληνες, ἣν μὴ ὀβολὸς ὀβολὸν τέκη καὶ τὰ ὄντια αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμήσωσι καπηλεύοντες ἢ καθειργνύντες, οὗ φασι ζῆν, ὁ μὲν θυγατέρα σκηπτόμενος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμων, ὁ δ' υἱὸν ἤδη τελούντα ἐς ἄνδρας, ὁ δ' ἐράνου πλήρωσιν, ὁ δ', ὡς οἰκοδομοῖτο οἰκίαν, ὁ δέ, ὡς αἰσχύνοιτο χρηματιστῆς ἥττων τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαι. καλῶς δ' ἄρ' εἶχεν, ἵνα ὁ πλοῦτος ἀτίμως ἔπραττεν ἰσότης τε ἦνθαι,

μέλας δ' ἀπέκειτο σίδηρος,

ὁμονοούντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐδόκει μία.”

III

CAP. III Τοιαῦτα διαλεγόμενος καὶ ξυμβούλους τῶν διαλέξεων, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ποιούμενος τοὺς καιροὺς,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

watch them at the crossways. I will explain the meaning of this, for the same custom still survives among ourselves. It was a market place to which the Ethiopians bring all the products of their country ; and the Egyptians in their turn take them all away and bring to the same spot their own wares of equal value, so bartering what they have got for what they have not. Now the inhabitants of the marches are not yet fully black but are half-breeds in matter of colour, for they are partly not so black as the Ethiopians, yet partly more so than the Egyptians. Apollonius, accordingly, when he realised the character of the market, remarked. " Contrast our good Hellenes : they pretend they cannot live unless one penny begets another, and unless they can force up the price of their goods by chaffering or holding them back ; and one pretends that he has got a daughter whom it is time to marry, and another that he has got a son who has just reached manhood, and a third that he has to pay his subscription to his club, and a fourth that he is having a house built for him, and a fifth that he would be ashamed of being a worse man of business than his father was before him. What a splendid thing then it would be, if wealth were held in less honour and equality flourished a little more, and ' if the black iron were left to rust in the ground,' for then all men would agree with one another, and the whole earth would be like one brotherhood."

CHAP.
II

Compared
with Greek
trading

III

WITH such conversations, the occasions providing as usual the topics he talked about, he turned his

CHAP.
III

CAP.
III ἐχώρει ἐπὶ Μέμνονος, ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς μερικάκιον Αἰγύπτιον, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμις· Τιμασίων μὲν τῷ μερακίῳ τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν, ἐφήβου δὲ ἄρτι ὑπαπῆει καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἔτι ἔρρωτο. σωφρονοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ μητρὶα ἐρώσα ἐνέκειτο καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐποίει, ξυντιθεῖσα μὲν οὐδὲν ὥνπερ ἡ Φαῖδρα, διαβάλλουσα δ' αὐτὸν ὡς θῆλυν καὶ ἐρασταῖς μᾶλλον ἢ γυναίοις χαίροντα. ὁ δ' ἐκλιπὼν Ναύκρατιν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, περὶ Μέμφιν διητᾶτο, καὶ ναῦν δὲ ιδιόστολον ἐκέκτητο καὶ ἐναυκλήρει ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ. ἰδὼν οὖν ἀναπλέοντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καταπλέων αὐτὸς ξυνήκέ τε, ὡς ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν εἶη τὸ πλήρωμα, ξυμβαλλόμενος τοῖς τρίβωσι καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις, οἷς προσεσπούδαζον, καὶ ἰκέτευε προσδοῦναί οἱ τῆς τοῦ πλοῦ κοινωνίας ἐρῶντι σοφίας, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος, “σώφρων,” ἔφη, “ὁ νεανίσκος, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἀξιούσθω ὧν δεῖται,” καὶ διῆλθε τὸν περὶ τῆς μητρὶας λόγον πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγυς τῶν ἐταίρων ὑφειμένῳ τῷ τόνῳ, προσπλέοντος τοῦ μερακίου ἔτι. ὡς δὲ ξυνήεσαν αἱ νῆες, μεταβὰς ὁ Τιμασίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην εἰπὼν τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ φόρτου, προσεῖπε τοὺς ἄνδρας. κελεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἰζῆσαι, “μεράκιον,” ἔφη, “Αἰγύπτιον,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

steps towards Memnon ; an Egyptian boy showed them the way, of whom Damis gives the following account : Timasion was the name of this stripling, who was just emerging from boyhood, and was now in the prime of life and strength. He had a step-mother who had fallen in love with him ; and when he rejected her overtures, she set upon him and by way of spiting him had poisoned his father's mind against him, condescending to a lower intrigue than ever Phaedra had done, for she accused him of being effeminate, and of finding his pleasure in favourites rather than in women. He had accordingly abandoned Naucratis, for it was there that all this happened, and was living in the neighbourhood of Memphis ; and he had acquired and manned a boat of his own and was plying as a waterman on the Nile. He then, was going down the river when he saw Apollonius sailing up it ; and he concluded that the crew consisted of wise men, because he judged them by the cloaks they wore and the books they were hard at work studying. So he asked them whether they would allow one who was so passionately fond of wisdom as himself to share their voyage ; and Apollonius said : " This youth is wise, my friends, so let him be granted his request." And he further related the story about the step-mother to those of his companions who were nearest to him, in a low tone while the stripling was still sailing towards them. But when the ships were alongside of one another, Timasion stepped out of his boat, and after addressing a word or two to his pilot, about the cargo in his own boat, he greeted the company. Apollonius then ordered him to sit down under his eyes, and said : " You stripling of Egypt, for you

CHAP.

III

They meet
Timasion
who tells
his story

CAP.
III

ἔοικας γὰρ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἶναί τις, τί σοι φαῦλον
 ἢ τί χρηστὸν εἵργασται, λέξον, ὥς τῶν μὲν λύσις
 παρ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτό σοι δι' ἡλικίαν, τῶν δ' αἰ
 ἐπαινεθεῖς ἐμοί τε ξυμφιλοσοφοίης καὶ τοῖσδε.
 ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ἐρυθριῶντα καὶ μετα-
 βάλλοντα τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ λέξαι τ
 ἢ μή, θαμὰ ἤρειδε τὴν ἐρώτησιν, ὥσπερ οὐδεμί
 προγνώσει ἐς αὐτὸν κεχρημένος, ἀναθαρσήσας δ
 ὁ Τιμασίων, “ὦ θεοί,” ἔφη, “τίνα ἐμαυτὸν εἶπω
 κακὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰμί, ἀγαθὸν δὲ εἰ χρὴ νομί
 ζεσθαί με, οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν οὐπω ἔπαι
 νος.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “βαβαί,” ἔφη, “μειρά
 κιον, ὥς ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν μοι διαλέγῃ, ταυτὶ γὰρ κα
 Ἰάρχα δοκεῖ τῷ θείῳ. ἀλλ' εἰπὲ ὅπως ταῦτα δοξά
 ζεις, κάξ ὅτου; φυλαξαμένῳ γάρ τι ἀμαρτεῖν ἔοι
 κας.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρξαμένου λέγειν, ὥς ἡ μητρὺν μὲν
 ἐπ' αὐτὸν φέροιτο, αὐτὸς δ' ἐρώσῃ ἐκσταίῃ, βοή
 ἐγένετο, ὥς δαιμονίως αὐτὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου προ
 ειπόντος, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Τιμασίων, “ὦ λῶστοι,” ἔφη
 “τί πεπόνθατε; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχει τὰ εἰρημένα
 θαύματος, ὅσον, οἶμαι, γέλωτος.” καὶ ὁ Δάμις
 “ἕτερόν τι,” ἔφη, “ἐθαυμάσαμεν, ὃ μήπω γιγνώσκεις
 καὶ σὲ δέ, μειράκιον, ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι μηδὲν οἶε

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

seem to be one of the natives, tell me what you have done of evil or what of good ; for in the one case you shall be forgiven by me, in consideration of your youth ; but in the other you shall reap my commendation and become a fellow-student of philosophy with me and with these gentlemen." Then noticing that Timasion blushed and checked his impulse to speak, and hesitated whether to say or not what he had been going to say, he pressed his question and repeated it, just as if he had no fore-knowledge of the youth at his command. Then Timasion plucked up courage and said : " O Heavens, how shall I describe myself ? for I am not a bad boy, and yet I do not know whether I ought to be considered a good one, for there is no particular merit in having abstained from wrong." But Apollonius cried : " Bravo, my boy, you answer me just as if you were a sage from India ; for this was just the sentiment of the divine Iarchas. But tell me how you came to form these opinions, and how long ago ; for it strikes me that you have been on your guard against some sin." The youth then began to tell them of his step-mother's infatuation for himself, and of how he had rejected her advances ; and when he did so, there was a shout in recognition of the divine inspiration under which Apollonius had foretold these details. Timasion, however, caught them up and said : " Most excellent people, what is the matter with you ? for my story is one which calls as little for your admiration, I think, as for your ridicule." But Damis said : " It was not that we were admiring, but something else which you don't know about yet. As for you, my boy, we praise you because you think that you did nothing

CHAP.
III

Apollonius
commends
his
continence

CAP.
III

λαμπρὸν εἰργάσθαι.” “Ἀφροδίτη δὲ θύεις, ὦ μέ-
 ράκιον ;” ἤρετο ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων
 “νὴ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ὅσημέραι γε, πολλὴν γὰρ ἡγοῦ-
 μαι τὴν θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπείοις τε καὶ θείοις πράγ-
 μασιν.” ὑπερησθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ψηφισά-
 μεθα,” ἔφη, “ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐστεφανῶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
 σωφροσύνῃ καὶ πρὸ Ἱππολύτου τοῦ Θησέως, ὁ μὲν
 γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὕβρισε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτι ἴσω
 οὐδὲ ἀφροδισίων ἡττήτο, οὐδὲ ἔρωσ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν οὐ-
 δεὶς ἐκώμαζεν, ἀλλ’ ἦν τῆς ἀγροικοτέρας τε καὶ
 ἀτέγκτου μοίρας, οὐτοσὶ δὲ ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς θεοῦ φά-
 σκων, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐρώσαν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ’ ἀπῆλθε
 αὐτὴν δείσας τὴν θεόν, εἰ τὸ κακῶς ἐράσθαι μὴ
 φυλάξοιτο, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ διαβεβλήσθαι πρὸς ὄντι-
 ναδὴ τῶν θεῶν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ἱπ-
 πόλυτος, οὐκ ἀξιῶ σωφροσύνης, σωφρονέστερον γὰρ
 τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὖ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθήνη-
 σιν, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἵδρυνται
 τοσαῦτα ἐς τὸν Τιμασίωνα αὐτῷ ἐσπευδάσθη. πλὴν
 ἀλλὰ Ἱππόλυτόν γε ἐκάλει αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλ-
 μούς, οἷς τὴν μητρυιὰν εἶδεν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ το-
 σώματος ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἐπαφροδι-
 τως ἄψασθαι.

IV

CAP.
IV

Ὑπὸ τούτῳ ἡγεμόνι παρελθεῖν φασιν ἐς τὸ τέμ-
 νος τοῦ Μέννονος. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Μέννονος τάδε ἀνα-
 γράφει Δάμις· Ἡοὺς μὲν παῖδα γενέσθαι αὐτό-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

very remarkable." And Apollonius asked: "Do you sacrifice to Aphrodite, my boy?" And Timasion answered: "Yes, by Zeus, every day; for I consider that this goddess has great influence in human and divine affairs." Thereat Apollonius was delighted beyond measure, and cried: "Let us, gentlemen, vote a crown to him for his continence rather than to Hippolytus the son of Theseus, for the latter insulted Aphrodite; and that perhaps is why he never fell a victim to the tender passion, and why love never ran riot in his soul; but he was allotted an austere and unbending nature. But our friend here admits that he is devoted to the goddess, and yet did not respond to his step-mother's guilty overtures, but went away in terror of the goddess herself, in case he were not on his guard against another's evil passions; and the mere aversion to any one of the gods, such as Hippolytus entertained in regard to Aphrodite, I do not class as a form of sobriety; for it is a much greater proof of wisdom and sobriety to speak well of all the gods, especially at Athens, where altars are set up in honour even of unknown gods." So great was the interest which he took in Timasion. Nevertheless he called him Hippolytus for the eyes with which he looked at his step-mother. It seemed also that he was a young man who was particular about his person and enhanced its charms by attention to athletic exercises.

IV

UNDER his guidance, they say, they went on to the sacred inclosure of Memnon, of whom Damis gives the following account. He says that he was

CAP.
IV

ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐν Τροίᾳ, ὅτι μηδὲ ἀφικέσθαι ἐς Τροίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰθιοπία τελευτῆσαι βασιλεύσαντα Αἰθιόπων γενεὰς πέντε. οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ μακροβιώτατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν, ὀλοφύρονται τὸν Μέμνονα ὡς κομιδῇ νέον καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ἁώρῳ κλαίουσι, τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἵδρυται, φασὶ μὲν προσεικέναι ἀγορᾷ ἀρχαία, οἶαι τῶν ἀγορῶν ἐν πόλεσὶ ποτε οἰκηθείσαις λείπονται, στηλῶν παρεχόμεναι τρύφη καὶ τειχῶν ἵχνη καὶ θάκους καὶ φλιάς ἐρμῶν τε ἀγάλματα, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ χειρῶν διεφθορότα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ χρόνου. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τετράφθαι πρὸς ἀκτῖνα μήπω γενειάσκον, λίθου δὲ εἶναι μέλανος, ξυμβεβηκέναι δὲ τῷ πόδε ἄμφω κατὰ τὴν ἀγαλμοτοποιίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαιδάλου, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπερείδειν ὀρθὰς ἐς τὸν θᾶκον, καθῆσθαι γὰρ ἐν ὀρμῇ τοῦ ὑπανίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νοῦν καὶ ὁπόσα τοῦ στόματος ὡς φθεγγομένου ἄδουσι, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἥττον θαυμάσαι φασίν, οὐπω γὰρ ἐνεργὰ φαίνεσθαι, προσβαλούσης δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς ἀκτῖνος, τουτὶ δὲ γίγνεσθαι περὶ ἡλίου ἐπιτολάς, μὴ κατασχεῖν τὸ θαῦμα, φθέγγασθαι μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμα τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στόμα, παιδρὺς δὲ ιστάναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δόξαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς, οἶα τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ εὐήλιοι. τότε ξυνεῖναι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the son of the Dawn, and that he did not meet his death in Troy, where indeed he never went; but that he died in Ethiopia after ruling the land for five generations. But his countrymen being the longest lived of men, still mourn him as a mere youth and deplore his untimely death. But the place in which his statue is set up resembles, they tell us, an ancient market-place, such as remain in cities that were long ago inhabited, and where we come on the remains of columns delicately worked, and find traces of walls and of seats and of the jambs of doors, and images of Hermes, some destroyed by the hand of man, others by that of time. Now this statue, says Damis, was turned towards the sunrise, and was that of a youth still unbearded; and it was made of a black stone, and the two feet were joined together after the style in which statues were made in the time of Daedalus; and the hands were thrust down supporting the body upright upon its seat, for though the figure was still sitting it was represented in the very act and impulse of rising up. We hear much of this attitude of the statue, and of the expression of its eyes, and of how the lips seem about to speak; but they say that they had no opportunity of admiring these effects until they saw them realised; for when the sun's rays fell upon the statue, and this happened exactly at dawn, they could not restrain their admiration; for the lips spoke immediately the sun's ray touched them, and the eyes seemed to stand out and gleam against the light as do those of men who love to bask in the sun. Then they say they understood that the figure was of one in the act of rising and making obeisance to the sun, in the way those do who worship the

CHAP.

IV

They visit
the statue
of Memnon

CAP.
IV. δοκεῖ ὑπανίστασθαι, καθάπερ οἱ τὸ κρεῖττον ὀρθοὶ
θεραπεύοντες. θύσαντες οὖν Ἡλίῳ τε Αἰθίοπι καὶ
Ἡφίῳ Μέμνονι, τουτὶ γὰρ ἔφραζον οἱ ἱερεῖς, τὸν
μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθεῖν τε καὶ θάλλειν, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς
μητρὸς ἐπονομάζοντες, ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ καμήλων ἐς
τὰ τῶν Γυμνῶν ἥθη.

V

CAP.
V. Ἄνδρὶ δὲ ἐντυχόντες ἐσταλμένῳ τρόπον, ὅνπερ
οἱ Μεμφῖται, καὶ ἀλύοντι μᾶλλον ἢ ξυντείνοντι
ἦρουντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμιν, ὅστις εἶη καὶ δι' ὃ τι
πλανῶτο, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίῳ, “ἐμοῦ,” ἔφη, “πυν-
θάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτου, οὗτος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν
εἴποι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος αἰδοῖ τῆς ξυμ-
φορᾶς, ἢ κέχρηται, ἐγὼ δέ, γιγνώσκω γὰρ τὸν
ἄνδρα καὶ ἐλεῶ, λέξω τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν πάντα·
ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ Μεμφίτην τινὰ ἄκων, κελεύουσι δ'
οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν νόμοι τὸν φεύγοντα ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ,
δεῖ δὲ φεύγειν, ἐπὶ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς εἶναι, καὶ ἐκνίψη-
ται τοῦ φόβου, χωρεῖν ἐς ἥθη καθαρὸν ἤδη, βαδι-
σαντα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ πεφονευμένου σῆμα
καὶ σφάξαντά τι ἐκεῖ οὐ μέγα. τὸν δὲ χρόνον, ὃν
οὐπω τοῖς Γυμνοῖς ἐνέτυχεν, ἀλᾶσθαι χρή περὶ
ταυτὶ τὰ ὅρια, ἔστ' ἂν αἰδέσωνται αὐτόν, ὥσπερ

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powers above standing erect. They accordingly ^{CHAP.} offered a sacrifice to the Sun of Ethiopia and to ^{IV} Memnon of the Dawn, for this the priests recommended them to do, explaining that the one name was derived from the words signifying "to burn and be warm,"¹ and the other from his mother. Having done this they set out upon camels for the home of the naked philosophers.

V

ON the way they met a man wearing the garb of ^{CHAP.} the inhabitants of Memphis, but who was wandering ^V about rather than wending his steps to a fixed point; so Damis asked him who he was and why he was roving about like that. But Timasion said: ^{The slayer of Philiscus is purified of blood-guilt by the Sage} "You had better ask me, and not him; for he will never tell you what is the matter with him, because he is ashamed of the plight in which he finds himself; but as for me, I know the poor man and pity him, and I will tell you all about him. For he has slain unwittingly a certain inhabitant of Memphis, and the laws of Memphis prescribe that a person exiled for an involuntary offence of this kind,—and the penalty is exile,—should remain with the naked philosophers until he has washed away the guilt of bloodshed, and then he may return home as soon as he is pure, though he must first go to the tomb of the slain man and sacrifice there some trifling victim. Now until he has been received by the naked philosophers, so long he must roam about these marches, until they take pity

¹ *Aithô* = I burn: *Aithiôps* = an Aethiop.

CAP. ^V *ικέτην.*” ἤρετο οὖν τὸν Τιμασίωνα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος,
 πῶς οἱ Γυμνοὶ περὶ τοῦ φεύγοντος ἐκείνου φρονοῦ-
 σιν, ὁ δέ, “οὐκ οἶδα,” εἶπε, “μῆνα γὰρ τουτονὶ
 ἔβδομον ἱκετεύει δεῦρο καὶ οὐπω λύσις.” * “οὐ
 σοφοὺς λέγεις ἄνδρας,” ἔφη, “εἰ μὴ καθαίρουσιν
 αὐτόν, μηδὲ γινώσκουσιν, ὅτι Φιλίσκος, ὃν ἀπέ-
 κτεινεν οὗτος, ἀνέφερεν ἐς Θαμοῦν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον,
 ὃς ἐδήλωσέ ποτε τὴν τῶν Γυμνῶν χώραν.” θαυμάσας
 οὖν ὁ Τιμασίων, “πῶς,” ἔφη, “λέγεις;” “ὥς γε,”
 εἶπεν, “ὦ μειράκιον, καὶ πέπρακται· Θαμοῦν γάρ
 ποτε νεώτερά ἐπὶ Μεμφίταις πράττοντα ἤλεγξαν
 οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ ἔσχον, ὁ δὲ ὀρμῆς ἁμαρτῶν ἔκειρε
 πᾶσαν, ἣν οὗτοι νέμονται, ληστρικῶς γὰρ περὶ
 Μέμφιν ἔρρωτο· τούτου Φιλίσκον, ὃν οὗτος ἀπέκ-
 τεινεν, ὁρῶ ἔκγονον τρίτον ἀπὸ δεκάτου, κατάρατον
 δηλαδὴ τούτοις, ὧν ὁ Θαμοῦς τότε διεπόρθει τὴν
 χώραν· καὶ ποῦ σοφόν, ὃν στεφανοῦν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ
 προνοήσας ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον ἀκουσίου φόνου μέν,
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δ’ εἰργασμένου μὴ καθῆραι;” ἐκ-
 πλαγὲν οὖν τὸ μειράκιον, “ξένε,” εἶπε, “τίς εἶ;”
 καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὃν ἄν,” ἔφη, “παρὰ τοῖς
 Γυμνοῖς εὖροις. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐπω μοι ὅσιον προσ-
 φθέγξασθαι τὸν ἐν τῷ αἵματι, κέλευσον αὐτόν, ὦ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

upon him as if he were a suppliant." Apollonius CHAP. therefore put the question to Timasion : "What do V the naked philosophers think of this particular exile?" And he answered: "I do not know anything more than that this is the seventh month that he has remained here as a suppliant, and that he has not yet obtained redemption." Said Apollonius: "You don't call men wise, who refuse to purify him, and are not aware that Philiscus whom he slew was a descendant of Thamus the Egyptian, who long ago laid waste the country of these naked philosophers." Thereat Timasion said in surprise: "What do you mean?" "I mean," said the other, "my good youth, what was actually the fact; for this Thamus once on a time was intriguing against the inhabitants of Memphis, and these philosophers detected his plot and prevented him; and he having failed in his enterprise retaliated by laying waste all the land upon which they live, for by his brigandage he tyrannised the country round Memphis. I perceive that Philiscus whom this man slew was the thirteenth in descent from this Thamus, and was obviously an object of execration to those whose country the latter so thoroughly ravaged at the time in question. Where then is their wisdom? Here is a man that they ought to crown, even if he had slain the other intentionally; and yet they refuse to purge him of a murder which he committed involuntarily on their behalf." The youth then was astounded and said: "Stranger, who are you?" And Apollonius replied: "He whom you shall find among these naked philosophers. But as it is not allowed me, by my religion to address one who

CAP.
V μεράκιον, θαρρεῖν, ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ καθαρεύονται,
εἰ βαδίσειεν οὐ καταλύω.” ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐπιδράσας
ὅσα Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὑπὲρ καθαρ-
σίων νομίζουσιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς ἥθη στείχειν ὡς
καθαρὸν ἤδη τῆς αἰτίας.

VI

CAP.
VI Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελάσαντες ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος, ἀφί-
κοντο πρὸ μέσημβρίας ἐς τὸ τῶν Γυμνῶν φροντι-
στήριον. τοὺς δὲ Γυμνοὺς τούτους οἰκεῖν μὲν ἐπί-
τινος λόφου, φασί, ξυμμέτρου μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς
ὄχθης τοῦ Νείλου, σοφία δὲ Ἰνδῶν λείπεσθαι
πλέον ἢ προὔχειν Αἰγυπτίων, γυμνοὺς δὲ ἐστάλθαι
κατὰ ταῦτὰ τοῖς εἰληθεροῦσιν Ἀθήνησι. δένδρα
δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ ὀλίγα καὶ τι ἄλσος οὐ μέγα, ἐς ὃ
ξυνίασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, ἱερὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ταῦτόν,
ὥσπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν, ἄλλο δὲ ἄλλη τοῦ γηλύφου
ἵδρυται σπουδῆς ἀξιούμενα, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων λόγοι.
θεραπεύουσι δὲ Νεῖλον μάλιστα, τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν
τοῦτον ἡγοῦνται γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ. καλύβης μὲν οὖν
ἢ οἰκίας οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ δέονται, ζῶντες ὑπαίθριοι καὶ
ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ αὐτῷ, καταγωγὴν δὲ ἀποχρῶσαν
τοῖς ξένοις ἐδείμαντο, στοὰν οὐ μεγάλην, ἰσομήκη
ταῖς Ἡλείων, ὑφ' αἷς ὁ ἀθλητῆς περιμένει τὸ
μεσημβρινὸν κήρυγμα.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

is stained with blood, I would ask you, my good boy, to encourage him, and tell him that he will at once be purged of guilt, if he will come to the place where I am lodging." And when the man in question came, Apollonius went through the rites over him which Empedocles and Pythagoras prescribe for the purification of such offences, and told him to return home, for that he was now pure of guilt.

CHAP.
V

VI

THENCE they rode out at sunrise, and arrived before midday at the academy of the naked sages, who dwell, they relate, upon a moderate-sized hill a little way from the bank of the Nile ; and in point of wisdom they fall short of the Indians rather more than they excel the Egyptians. And they wear next to no clothes in the same way as people do at Athens in the heat of summer. And in their district there are few trees, and a certain grove of no great size to which they resort when they meet for the transaction of common affairs ; but they do not build their shrines in one and the same place, as Indian shrines are built, but one is in one part of the hill and another in another, all worthy of observation, according to the accounts of the Egyptians. The Nile is the chief object of their worship, for they regard this river as land and water at once. They have no need, however, of hut or dwelling, because they live in the open air directly under the heaven itself, but they have built an hospice to accommodate strangers, and it is a portico of no great size, about equal in length to those of Elis, beneath which the athletes await the sound of the midday trumpet.

CHAP.
VI
The haunts
of the naked
sages

VII

CAP.
VII

Ἐνταῦθά τι ἀναγράφει Δάμις Εὐφράτου ἔργον, ἡγώμεθα δὲ αὐτὸ μὴ μεираκιῶδες, ἀλλ' ἀφιλοτιμότερον τοῦ φιλοσοφία προσήκοντος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου θαμὰ ἤκουε βουλομένου σοφίαν Ἰνδικὴν ἀντικρῖναι Αἰγυπτία, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Θρασύβουλον τὸν ἐκ Ναυκρατίδος ὑπὲρ διαβολῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὁ δὲ ἤκειν μὲν ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας, ἔφη, τῆς πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν Τυανέα, τουτὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις ἀγῶνα ἔχειν οὐ σμικρὸν, φρονεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἰνδῶν σοφούς, οὓς ἐν λόγῳ παντὶ αἴρει, μυρίας δὲ ἐλέγξεις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συνεσκευάσθαι, ξυγχωρεῖν τε οὔτε ἡλίῳ οὐδὲν οὔτε οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ, κινεῖν γὰρ καὶ ὀχεῖν αὐτὸς ταῦτα καὶ μετατάττειν οἱ βούλεται.

VIII

CAP.
VIII

Τοιαῦτα ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ξυνθεὶς ἀπήλθεν, οἱ δ' ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἡγούμενοι τὴν μὲν ξυνουσίαν οὐ παρητοῦντο ἥκοντος, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ σπουδάζειν ἐπλάττοντο καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνοις εἶναι, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ κακείνῳ ἐς λόγους, ἣν σχολὴν ἄγωσι μάθωσί τε, ὃ τι βούλεται καὶ ὅτου ἐρῶν ἤκεν. ἐκέ-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

VII

At this place Damis records an action of Euphrates, which if we do not regard it as juvenile, was anyhow unworthy of the dignity of a philosopher. Euphrates had heard Apollonius often say that he wished to compare the wisdom of India with that of Egypt, so he sent up to the naked sages one Thrasybulus, a native of Naucratis, to take away our sage's character. Thrasybulus at the same time that he pretended to have come there in order to enjoy their society, told them that the sage of Tyana also would presently arrive, and that they would have no little trouble with him, because he esteemed himself more highly than the sages of India did themselves, though he extolled the latter whenever he opened his mouth; and he added that Apollonius had contrived a thousand pitfalls for them, and that he would not allow any sort of influence either to the sun, or to the sky, or to the earth, but pretended to move and juggle and rearrange these forces for whatever end he chose.

CHAP.
VII
Euphrates'
intrigues
with them
against
Apollonius

VIII

HAVING concocted these stories the man of Naucratis went away; and they, imagining they were true, did not indeed decline to meet Apollonius when he arrived, but pretended that they were occupied with important business and were so intent upon it, that they could only arrange an interview with him if they had time, and if they were informed first of what he wanted and of what attracted him thither.

CHAP.
VIII

CAP. VIIII. λευε δὲ ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἦκων καὶ καταλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὑπὲρ μὲν στέγης,” ἔφη, “μηδὲν διαλέγου, ξυγχωρεῖ γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ἐνταῦθα γυμνοῖς ζῆν,” διαβάλλων αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ κάρτεριά γυμνοῦς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, “ὅτι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἦκω τοὺς μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω οὐπω γιγνώσκοντας, Ἴνδοι δέ με οὐκ ἤρουντο ταῦτα.”

IX

CAP. IX. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐνὶ τῶν δένδρων ὑποκλιθεὶς ξυνῆν τοῖς ἐταίροις ὅποσα ἡρώτων, ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ὁ Δάμις ἤρετο ἰδίᾳ· “οἱ Γυμνοὶ οὗτοι, βέλτιστε, ξυγγέγονας γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, τί σοφοί εἰσι;” “πολλά,” ἔφη, “καὶ μεγάλα.” “καὶ μὴν οὐ σοφά,” εἶπεν, “αὐτῶν, ὦ γενναῖε, τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ξυμβῆναι τοιῷδε ἀνδρὶ ὑπὲρ σοφίας, ὄγκῳ δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν χρήσασθαι τί φῶ οὐκ οἶδα ἢ τῦφον,” ἔφη, “ὦ ἐταῖρε.” “τῦφον; ὃν οὐπω πρότερον περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶδον δις ἤδη ἀφικόμενος, αἰεὶ γὰρ μέτριοί τε καὶ χρηστοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμιγνύντας ἦσαν· πρῶν γοῦν, πεντήκοντα δὲ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἡμέραι, Θρασύβουλος μὲν ἐπεχωρίαζεν ἐνταῦθα, χαμπρὸν οὐδὲν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

And a messenger from them bade them stay and lodge in the portico, but Apollonius remarked: "We do not want to hear about a house for ourselves, for the climate here is such that anyone can live naked,"—an unkind reference this to them, as it implied that they went without clothes not to show their endurance, but because it was too hot to wear any. And he added: "I am not surprised indeed at their not yet knowing what I want, and what I am come here for, though the Indians never asked me these questions."

CHAP.
VIII

IX

ACCORDINGLY Apollonius lay down under one of the trees, and let his companions who were there with him ask whatever question they pleased. But Damis took Timasion apart and asked him the question in private: "About these naked sages, my good fellow, as you have lived with them, and in all probability know, tell me what their wisdom comes to?" "It is," answered the other, "manifold and profound." "And yet," said Damis, "their demeanour towards us does not evince any wisdom, my fine fellow; for when they refuse to converse about wisdom with so great a man as our master, and assume all sorts of airs against him, what can I say of them except that they are too vain and proud." "Pride and vanity!" said the other, "I have already come among them twice, and I never saw any such thing about them; for they were always very modest and courteous towards those who came to visit them. At any rate a little time ago, perhaps a matter of fifty days, one Thrasybulus was staying here who

CHAP.
IX
Timasion
reveals
these
intrigues

CHAP.
IX

πράττων, οἱ δ' ἄσμενοι αὐτὸν ἀπεδέξαντο, ἐπειδὴ προσέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ." καὶ ὁ Δάμις, "τί λέγεις, ὦ μεираάκιον; ἐώρακας σὺ Θρασύβουλον τὸν Ναυκρατίτην ἐν τῷ φροντιστηρίῳ τούτῳ;" "καὶ πρὸς γε," εἶπε, "διήγαγον αὐτὸν τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ νηὶ κατιόντα ἐνθένδε." "τὸ πᾶν ἔχω, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηναῦν," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις ἀναβοήσας τε καὶ σχετλιάσας, "ἔοικε γὰρ πεπανουργῆσθαι τι." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Τιμασίων, "ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ," ἔφη, "ὥς ἡρόμην αὐτὸν χθές, ὅστις εἶη, οὐπω με ἤξιον τοῦ ἀπορρήτου, σὺ δ', εἰ μὴ μυστήρια ταῦτα, λέγε ὅστις οὗτος, ἴσως γὰρ ἂν καὶ γώ τι ξυμβαλοίμην τῇ τοῦ ζητουμένου θήρᾳ." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσε τοῦ Δάμιδος καὶ ὅτι ὁ Τυανεύς εἶη, "ξυνείληφας," ἔφη, "τὸ πρᾶγμα· Θρασύβουλος γὰρ καταπλέων μετ' ἐμοῦ τὸν Νεῖλον, ἐρομένῳ μοι ἐφ' ὃ τι ἀναβαίη ἐνταῦθα, σοφίαν οὐ χρηστὴν ἑαυτοῦ διηγείτο, τοὺς Γυμνοὺς τούτους ὑποψίας ἐμπεπληκέναι φάσκων πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὥς ὑπεροφθείη, ὁπότε ἔλθοι, καὶ ὅτου μὲν διαφέρεται πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ δὲ ἐς διαβολὰς καθίστασθαι γυναικεῖόν τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἀπαίδευτον, ἐγὼ δ' ἂν, ὥς διέκεινται, μάθοιμι προσειπὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας, φίλοι γάρ." καὶ ἐπανῆλθε περὶ δείλῃν ὁ Τιμασίων, πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οὐδὲν φράζων πλὴν τοῦ προσειρηκέναι σφᾶς, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἀπαγγέλλων πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν, ὥς ἀφίξοιντο αὖριον μεστοὶ ὦν τοῦ Θρασυβούλου ἤκουσαν.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

achieved nothing remarkable in philosophy, and they received him with open arms merely because he said he was a disciple of Euphrates." Then Damis cried : "What's that you say, my boy? Then you saw Thrasybulus of Naucratis in this academy of theirs?" "Yes, and what's more," answered the other, "I conveyed him hence, when he went down the river, in my own boat." "Now I have it, by Athene," cried Damis, in a loud tone of indignation. "I warrant he has played us some dirty trick." Timasion then replied: "Your master, when I asked him yesterday who he was, would not answer me at once, but kept his name a secret; but do you, unless this is a mystery, tell me who he is, for then I could probably help you to find what you seek." And when he heard from Damis, that it was the sage of Tyana, "You have put the matter," he said, "in a nutshell. For Thrasybulus, as he descended the Nile with me, in answer to my question, what he had gone up there for, explained to me that his love of wisdom was not genuine, and said that he had filled these naked sages here with suspicion of Apollonius, to the end that whenever he came here they might flout him; and what his quarrel is with him I know not, but anyhow, it is, I think, worthy of a woman or of a vulgar person to backbite him as he has done. But I will address myself to these people and ascertain their real disposition; for they are friendly to me." And about eventide Timasion returned, though without telling Apollonius any more than that he had interchanged words with them; however he told Damis in private that they meant to come the next morning primed with all that they had heard from Thrasybulus.

X

CAP.
X

Τὴν μὲν δὴ ἐσπέραν ἐκείνην μέτριά τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξια τοῦ ἀναγράψαι σπουδάσαντες, ἐκοιμήθησαν οὗ ἐδείπνησάν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, θεραπεύσας τὸν Ἥλιον ἐφειστήκει τινὶ γνώμῃ, προσδραμὼν δὲ αὐτῷ Νεῖλος, ὃσπερ ἦν νεώτατος τῶν Γυμνῶν, “ ἡμεῖς,” ἔφη, “ παρὰ σέ ἤκομεν.” “ εἰκότως,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐνταῦθα.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα εἶπετο τῷ Νείλῳ. προσειπὼν οὖν καὶ προσρηθείς, ξυνέτυχον δὲ ἀλλήλοις περὶ τὴν στοάν, “ ποῦ,” ἔφη, “ ξυνεσόμεθα ;” “ ἐνταῦθα,” ἔφη ὁ Θεσπεσίων δείξας τὸ ἄλσος. ὁ δὲ Θεσπεσίων πρεσβύτατος ἦν τῶν Γυμνῶν, καὶ ἡγείτο μὲν αὐτὸς πᾶσιν, οἱ δέ, ὥσπερ Ἑλλανοδίκαί τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ, εἶποντο κοσμίῳ ἅμα καὶ σχολαίῳ βαδίσματι. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐκάθισαν, ὡς ἔτυχε, τοῦτὶ γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐν κόσμῳ ἔδρων, ἐς τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα εἶδον πάντες οἶον ἐστιάτορα τοῦ λόγου, ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἐνθένδε· “ τὴν Πυθῶ καὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπεσκέφθαι σέ φασιν, Ἀπολλώνιε, τουτὶ γὰρ ἀπήγγειλεν ἐνταῦθα καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Φάριος, ἐντετυχηκέναι σοι φάσκων ἐκεῖ, καὶ τὴν μὲν Πυθῶ τοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἤκοντας αὐλῷ τε παρέμπειν καὶ ῥδαῖς καὶ ψάλλει, κωμωδίας τε καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

X

THEY spent that evening conversing about trifles which are not worth recording, and then they lay down to sleep on the spot where they had supped; but at day-break Apollonius, after adoring the sun according to his custom, had set himself to meditate upon some problem, when Nilus, who was the youngest of the naked philosophers, running up to him, exclaimed: "We are coming to you." "Quite right," said Apollonius, "for to get to you I have made this long journey from the sea all the way here." And with these words he followed Nilus. So after exchanging greetings with the sages, and they met him close to the portico, "Where," said Apollonius, "shall we hold our interview?" "Here," said Thespesion, pointing to the grove. Now Thespesion was the eldest of the sect, and presided over them all; and they followed him with an orderly and leisurely step, just as the jury of the athletic sports at Olympia follow the eldest of their number. And when they had sat down, which they did anyhow, and without observing their previous order, they all fixed their eyes on Thespesion as the one who should regale them with a discourse, which he proceeded to do as follows: "They say, Apollonius, that you have visited the Pythian and Olympic festivals; for this was reported of you here by Stratocles of Pharos, who says that he met you there. Now those who come to the Pythian festival are, they say, escorted with sound of pipe and song and lyre, and are honoured with shows of comedies and tragedies; and then last of all they are presented

CHAP.

X

Thespesion's
harangue
against
Apollonius

He attacks
the sages
of India

CAP.
X. τραγωδίας ἀξιούν, εἴτα τὴν ἀγωνίαν παρέχειν τὴν
 γυμνὴν ὀψὲ τούτων, τὴν δὲ Ὀλυμπίαν τὰ μὲν
 τοιαῦτα ἐξελεῖν ὥς ἀνάρμοστα καὶ οὐ χρηστὰ
 ἐκεῖ, παρέχεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν ἰοῦσιν ἀθλητὰς
 γυμνοὺς, Ἡρακλέους ταῦτα ξυνθέντος· τοῦτο ἡγοῦ
 παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ μὲν γάρ,
 ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν Πυθῶ καλοῦντες, ποικίλαις δημαγω-
 γοῦσιν ἰυγξιν, ἡμεῖς δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ,
 γυμνοί. οὐχ ὑποστρώννυσιν ἡ γῆ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα,
 οὐδὲ γάλα ὥσπερ βάκχαις ἢ οἶνον δίδωσιν, οὐδὲ
 μετεώρους ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀὴρ φέρει, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν ὑπε-
 στορεσμένοι τὴν γῆν, ζῶμεν μετέχοντες αὐτῆς τὰ
 κατὰ φύσιν, ὥς χαίρουσα διδοίη αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ
 βασανίζοιτο ἄκουσα. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἀδυνατοῦμεν
 σοφίζεσθαι, τὸ δεῖνα," ἔφη, "δένδρον," πτελέα
 δὲ ἦν, τρίτον ἀπ' ἐκείνου, ὑφ' ᾧ διελέγοντο, "πρόσ-
 ειπε τὸν σοφὸν Ἀπολλώνιον," καὶ προσεῖπε μὲν
 αὐτόν, ὥς ἐκελεύσθη, τὸ δένδρον, ἢ φωνὴ δὲ ἦν
 ἕναρθρός τε καὶ θῆλυς. ἀπεςήμαινε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
 Ἰνδοὺς ταῦτα, μετὰ στήσειν ἡγούμενος τὸν Ἀπολλώ-
 νιον τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δόξης, ἐπειδὴ διῆει ἐς πάντας
 λόγους τε Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἔργα.

Προσετίθει δὲ κακεῖνα, ὥς ἀπόχρη τῷ σοφῷ
 βρώσεώς τε καθαρῷ εἶναι, ὀπόση ἔμπνους, ἰμέρου
 τε, ὃς φοιτᾷ δι' ὀμμάτων, φθόνου τε, ὃς διδάσκαλος

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

with an exhibition of games and races run by naked athletes. At the Olympic festival, however, these superfluities are omitted as inappropriate and unworthy of the place; and those who go to the festival are only provided with the show of naked athletes originally instituted by Heracles. You may see the same contrast between the wisdom of the Indians and our own. For they, like those who invite others to the Pythian festival, appeal to the crowd with all sorts of charms and wizardry; but we, like the athletes of Olympia, go naked. Here earth strews for us no couches, nor does it yield us milk or wine as if we were bacchants, nor does the air uplift us and sustain us aloft. But the earth beneath us is our only couch, and we live by partaking of its natural fruits, which we would have it yield to us gladly and without being tortured against its will. But you shall see that we are not unable to work tricks if we like. Heigh! you tree yonder," he cried, pointing to an elm tree, the third in the row from that under which they were talking, "just salute the wise Apollonius, will you?" And forthwith the tree saluted him, as it was bidden to do, in accents which were articulate and like those of a woman. Now he wrought this sign to discredit the Indians, and in the belief that by doing so he would wean Apollonius of his excessive estimate of their powers; for he was always recounting to everybody what the Indians said and did.

Then the Egyptian added these precepts: he said that it is sufficient for the sage to abstain from eating all flesh of living animals, and from the roving desires which mount up into the soul through the eyes, and from envy which ends by teaching injustice to

CAP.
X

ἀδίκων ἐπὶ χεῖρα καὶ γνώμην ἤκει, θαυμασιουργίας τε καὶ βιαίου τέχνης μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀλήθειαν. “σκέψαι γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλω,” εἶπε, “τὸν Δελφικόν, ὃς τὰ μέσα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ προρρήσει λογίων ἔχει· ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν, ὥς που καὶ αὐτὸς γιγνώσκεις, ὁ μὲν τῆς ὁμφῆς δεόμενος ἐρωτᾷ βραχὺ ἐρώτημα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὐδὲν τερατευσάμενος λέγει, ὅποσα οἶδε. καίτοι ῥαδίον γε ἦν αὐτῷ σεῖσαι μὲν τὸν Παρνασὸν πάντα, τὴν Κασταλίαν δὲ οἰνοχοῆσαι μεταβάλλοντι τὰς πηγάς, Κηφισῷ δὲ μὴ ξυγχωρῆσαι ποταμῷ εἶναι, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπικομπάσας ἀναφαίνει τάληθές αὐτό. ἠγώμεθα δὲ μηδὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ἢ τὰ δοκοῦντα λαμπρὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐκόντι αὐτῷ φοιτᾶν, μηδὲ τῷ νεῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλω χαίρειν, εἰ καὶ διπλάσιος ἀποφανθείη τοῦ νῦν ὄντος· ᾧκησε γάρ ποτε καὶ λιτὴν στέγην ὁ θεὸς οὗτος, καὶ καλύβη αὐτῷ ξυνεπλάσθη μικρά, εἰς ἣν ξυμβαλέσθαι λέγονται μέλιτται μὲν κηρόν, πτερὰ δὲ ὄρνιθες. εὐτέλεια γὰρ διδάσκαλος μὲν σοφίας, διδάσκαλος δὲ ἀληθείας, ἣν ἐπαινῶν σοφὸς ἀτεχνῶς δόξεις ἐκλαθόμενος τῶν παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς μύθων. τὸ γὰρ πρᾶττε ἢ μὴ πρᾶττε, ἢ οἶδα ἢ οὐκ οἶδα, ἢ τὸ δεῖνα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δεῖνα, τί δεῖται κτύπου; τί δὲ τοῦ βροντᾶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ἐμβεβροντῆσθαι;

Εἶδες ἐν ζωγραφίας λόγοις καὶ τὸν τοῦ Προδίκου Ἡρακλέα, ὥς ἔφηβος μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, οὐπω δὲ ἐν αἰρέσει τοῦ βίου, κακία δ’ αὐτὸν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

hand and will, and that truth stands not in need of miracle-mongering and sinister arts. "For look," he said, "at the Apollo of Delphi, who keeps the centre of Hellas for the utterance of his oracles. There then, as you probably know yourself, a person who desires a response, puts his question briefly, and Apollo tells what he knows without any miraculous display. And yet it would be just as easy for him to convulse the whole mountain of Parnassus, and to alter the springs of the Castalian fountain so that it should run with wine, and to check the river Cephissus and stay its stream; but he reveals the bare truth without any of this show or ostentation. Nor must we suppose that it is by his will, that so much gold and showy offerings enter his treasury, nor that he would care for his temple even if it were made twice as large as it already is. For once on a time this god Apollo dwelt in quite a humble habitation; and a little hut was constructed for him to which the bees are said to have contributed their honeycomb and wax, and the birds their feathers. For simplicity is the teacher of wisdom and the teacher of truth; and you must embrace it, if you would have men think you really wise, and forget all your legendary tales that you acquired among the Indians. For what need is there to beat the drum over such simple matters as: 'Do this, or do not do it,' or 'I know it, or I do not know it,' or 'It is this and not that'? What do you want with thunder, nay, I would say, What do you want to be thunder-struck for?"

CHAP.

X

And contrasts the Delphic oracle in its simplicity with their pomp

You have seen in picture-books the representation of Hercules by Prodicus; in it Hercules is represented as a youth, who has not yet chosen the life he

CAP. καὶ ἀρετὴ διαλαβοῦσαι παρὰ σφᾶς ἄγουσιν,
 X ἢ μὲν χρυσῷ τε κατεσκευασμένη καὶ ὕρμοις,
 ἐσθῆτί τε ἀλιπορφύρῳ καὶ παρειᾶς ἄνθει καὶ
 χαίτης ἀναπλοκαῖς καὶ γραφαῖς ὀμμάτων, ἔστι
 δ' αὐτῇ καὶ χρυσοῦν πέδιλον, γέγραπται γὰρ
 καὶ τούτῳ ἐνσοβοῦσα. ἢ δ' αὖ πεπονηκυῖα
 μὲν προσφερῆς, τραχὺ δὲ ὀρώσα, τὸν δὲ αὐχμὸν
 πεποιημένη κόσμημα καὶ ἀνυπόδετος ἢ ἀρετὴ καὶ
 λιτὴ τὴν ἐσθῆτά, καὶ γυμνὴ δ' ἂν ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μὴ
 ἐγίγνωσκε τὸ ἐν θηλείαις εὐσχημον. ἡγοῦ δὴ καὶ
 σεαυτὸν, Ἀπολλώνιε, μέσον τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τε καὶ
 τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας ἐστάναι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀκούειν
 λεγούσης, ὥς ὑποστορέσει σοι ἄνθη καθεύδοντι,
 καί, νῆ Δι', ὥς ποτιεῖ γάλακτι καὶ ὥς κηρίοις
 θρέψει, καὶ ὥς νέκταρ σοί τι παρ' αὐτῆς ἔσται
 καὶ πτερὰ, ὅποτε βούλοιο, τρίποδάς τε ἐσκυκλήσει
 πινόντι καὶ χρυσοῦς θρόνους, καὶ πονήσεις οὐδέν,
 ἀλλ' αὐτόματά σοι βαδιεῖται πάντα, τῆς δὲ γε
 ἐτέρας, ὥς χαμευνεῖν μὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ προσήκει, γυμ-
 νὸν δέ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, μοχθοῦντα φαίνεσθαι, ὃ δὲ μὴ
 πονήσαντί σοι ἀφίκετο, μήτε φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε
 ἡδύ, μηδὲ ἀλαζόνα εἶναι μηδὲ τύφου θηρατὴν,
 ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὀνείράτων ὄψεις, ὅπόσαι ἀπὸ
 τῆς γῆς αἴρουσιν. εἰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα
 αἰροῖο, καὶ δόξῃ ἀδαμαντίνῃ χρῶο μὴ ἀτιμάζων
 ἀλήθειαν, μηδὲ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν εὐτέλειαν παραι-
 τοῦμενος, πολλοὺς μὲν ἤρηκέναι φήσεις λέοντας,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

will lead ; and vice and virtue stand on each side of him plucking his garments and trying to draw him to themselves. Vice is adorned with gold and necklaces and with purple raiment, and her cheeks are painted and her hair delicately plaited and her eyes underlined with henna ; and she also wears golden slippers, for she is pictured strutting about in these ; but virtue in the picture resembles a woman worn out with toil, with a pinched look ; and she has chosen for her adornment rough squalor, and she goes without shoes and in the plainest of raiment, and she would have appeared naked if she had not too much regard for feminine decency. Now figure yourself, Apollonius, as standing between Indian wisdom on one side, and our own humble wisdom on the other ; imagine that you hear the one telling you how she will strew flowers under you when you lie down to sleep, yes, and by Heaven, how she will regale you upon milk and nourish you on honey-comb, and how she will supply you with nectar and wings, whenever you want them ; and how she will wheel in tripods, whenever you drink, and golden thrones ; and you shall have no hard work to do, but everything will be flung unsought into your lap. But the other discipline insists that you must lie on the bare ground in squalor, and be seen to toil naked like ourselves ; and that you must not find dear or sweet anything which you have not won by hard work ; and that you must not be boastful, nor hunt after vanities and pursue pride ; and that you must be on your guard against all dreams and visions which lift you off the earth. If then you really make the choice of Hercules, and steel your will resolutely neither to dishonour truth, nor to decline the simplicity of nature, then you may say

CHAP.
X

CAP. X. πολλὰς δὲ ὕδρας ἐκτετμήσθαι σοι Γηρυόνας τε καὶ Νέσσους καὶ ὅποσοι ἐκείνου ἄθλοι, εἰ δὲ τῶν ἀγειρόντων ἀσπᾶση, κολακεύσεις ὀφθαλμούς τε καὶ ὦτα, καὶ οὔτε σοφώτερος ἑτέρου δόξεις γενήσῃ τε ἄθλος ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου Γυμνοῦ.”

XI

CHAP. XI. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος ἐστράφησαν ἐς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πάντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφ’ αὐτόν, ὡς ἀντιλέξοι γιγνώσκοντες, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα θαυμάζοντες, ὅ τι ἀντερεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν τῆς εὐροίας καὶ τοῦ τόνου, “ μή τι,” ἔφη, “ προστίθης ; ” “ μὰ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ εἴρηκα γάρ.” τοῦ δ’ αὖ ἐρομένου, “ μὴ τῶν ἄλλων τις Αἰγυπτίων ; ” “ πάντων,” ἔφη, “ δι’ ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας.” ἐπισχὼν οὖν ὀλίγον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας ἐς τὰ εἰρημένα οὕτως ἔλεξεν· “ ἢ μὲν Ἡρακλέους αἵρεσις, ἣν φησι Πρόδικος ἐν ἐφήβῳ ἐλέσθαι αὐτόν, ὑγιῶς τε ὑμῖν λέλεκται καὶ κατὰ τὸν φιλοσοφίας νοῦν, ᾧ σοφοὶ Αἰγυπτίων, προσήκει δέ μοι οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ ξυμβούλους ὑμᾶς βίου ποιησόμενος ἤκω, πάλαι γε ἡρημένος τὸν ἐμαυτῷ δόξαντα, πρεσβύτατός τε ὑμῶν πλὴν Θεσπεσίωνος ἀφιγμένος αὐτὸς ἀν μᾶλλον εἰκότως ξυνεβούλευον ὑμῖν σοφίας αἵρεσιν,

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that you have overcome many lions and have cut off CHAP. X
the heads of many hydras and of monsters like Geryon
and Nessus. and have accomplished all his other
labours, but if you embrace the life of a strolling
juggler, you will flatter men's eyes and ears, but they
will think you no wiser than anybody else, and you
will become the vanquished of any naked philosopher
of Egypt."

XI

WHEN he ended, all turned their eyes upon Apol- CHAP. XI
lonius; his own followers knowing well that he would Apollonius
reply, while Thespesion's friends wondered what he replies
could say in answer. But he, after praising the
fluency and vigour of the Egyptian, merely said:
"Have you anything more to say?" "No, by Zeus,"
said the other, "for I have said all I have to say."
Then he asked afresh: "And has not any one of the
rest of the Egyptians anything to say?" "I am their
spokesman," answered his antagonist, "and you have
heard them all." Apollonius accordingly paused for
a minute and then, fixing his eyes, as it were, on the
discourse he had heard, he spoke as follows: "You
have very well described and in a sound philosophic
spirit the choice which Prodicus declares Hercules to
have made as a young man; but, ye wise men of
the Egyptians, it does not apply in the least to
myself. For I am not come here to ask your advice
about how to live, insomuch as I long ago made
choice of the life which seemed best to myself; and Defends his life
as I am older than any of you, except Thespesion,
I myself am better qualified, now I have got here,
to advise you how to choose wisdom, if I did

εἰ μήπω ἡρημένοις ἐνέτυχον. ὧν δ' ὅμως τηλικόσδε καὶ σοφίας ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἀφιγμένος, οὐκ ὀκνήσω λογισταῖς ὑμῖν τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ βουλῆς χρήσασθαι διδάσκων, ὡς ὀρθῶς εἰλόμην ταῦτα, ὧν μήπω βελτίω ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤλθέ μοι. κατιδὼν γάρ τι ἐν Πυθαγόρου μέγα καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἀρρήτου μὴ μόνου γιγνώσκοι ἑαυτόν, ὅστις εἴη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις γένοιτο, βωμῶν τε ὡς καθαρὸς ἄψαιτο καὶ ὡς ἀχράντῳ μὲν ἐμφύχου βρώσεως γαστρὶ χρήσαιτο, καθαρῷ δὲ σώματι πάντων ἐσθημάτων, ὅποσα θνησειδίων ξύγκειται, γλῶττάν τε ὡς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ξυνέσχε βοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῇ σιωπῆς εὐρὼν δόγμα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ὡς χρησμώνη καὶ ἀληθῇ κατεστήσατο, ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου δόξας, οὐ μίαν σοφίαν ἐκ δυοῖν ἐλόμενος, ὡς σύ, βέλτιστε Θεσπεσίων, συμβουλεύεις. παραστήσασα γάρ μοι φιλοσοφία τὰς ἑαυτῆς δόξας, ὅποσαι εἰσὶ, περιβαλοῦσά τε αὐταῖς κόσμον, ὃς ἐκάστη οἰκεῖος, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτὰς βλέπειν καὶ ὑγιῶς αἰρεῖσθαι. ὦρα μὲν οὖν σεμνή τε ἀπασῶν ἦν καὶ θεία, καὶ κατέμυσεν ἄν τις πρὸς ἐνίας αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰστήκει τὸ ὄμμα ἐς πάσας, καὶ γάρ με καὶ παρεθάρρυνον αὐταὶ προσαγόμεναί τε καὶ προκηρύττουσαι, ὅποσα δώσουσιν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μέν τις αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μοχθήσαντι πολὺν ἐπαντλήσειν ἔφασκεν ἡδονῶν ἐσμὸν, ἡ δ' αὖ μοχθήσαντα ἀνα-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

not find that you had already made the choice. CHAP. XI
Being, however, as old as I am, and so far advanced in wisdom as I am, I shall not hesitate as it were to make you the auditors of my life and motives, and teach you that I rightly chose this life of mine, than which no better one has ever suggested itself to me. For I discerned a certain sublimity in the discipline of Pythagoras, and how a certain secret wisdom enabled him to know, not only who he was himself, but also who he had been; and I saw that he approached the altars in purity, and suffered not his belly to be polluted by partaking of the flesh of animals; and that he kept his body pure of all garments woven of dead animal refuse; and that he was the first of mankind to restrain his tongue, inventing a discipline of silence described in the proverbial phrase, "An ox sits upon it." I also saw that his philosophical system was in other respects oracular and true. So I ran to embrace his teachings, not choosing one form of wisdom rather than another of two presented me, as you, my excellent Thespion, advise me to do. For philosophy marshalled before me her various points of view, investing them with the adornment proper to each, and she commanded me to look upon them and make a sound choice. Now they were all possessed of an august and divine beauty; and some of them were of such dazzling brightness that you might well have closed your eyes. However I fixed my eyes firmly upon all of them, for they themselves encouraged me to do so by moving towards me, and telling me beforehand how much they would give me. Well, one of them professed that she would shower upon me a swarm of pleasures without any toil on my part; and another

CAP.
XI

παύσειν, ἡ δ' ἐγκαταμίξειν εὐφροσύνας τῷ μόχθῳ, πάνταχοῦ δὲ ἡδοναὶ διεφαίνοντο, καὶ ἄνετοι μὲν ἡνίαί γαστρος, ἐτοιμία δὲ χεὶρ ἐς πλοῦτον, χαλινὸς δὲ οὐδεὶς ὀμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἔρωτές τε καὶ ἵμεροι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη ξυνεχωρεῖτο, μία δὲ αὐτῶν ἴσχειν μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκόμπαζε, θρασεῖα δὲ ἦν καὶ φιλολοίδορος καὶ ἀπηγκωνισμένη πάντα· εἶδον σοφίας εἶδος ἄρρητον, οὗ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ποτὲ ἠττήθη, καὶ εἰστήκει δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πολλαῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπετέτακτο αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσιώπα, ξυνεῖσα δέ, ὡς ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις οὐ ξυντίθεμαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνης οὐπω οἶδα, “μειράκιον,” εἶπεν, “ἡδηὲς ἐγὼ καὶ μεστὴ πόνων· εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό τις ἐς ἡθὴ τὰ ἐμά, τράπεζαν μὲν, ὀπόση ἐμψύχων, ἀνηρῆσθαι πᾶσαν ἂν ἔλοιτο, οἴνου δὲ ἐκλελῆσθαι καὶ τὸν σοφίας μὴ ἐπιθολοῦν κρατῆρα, ὃς ἐν ταῖς αἰόνοις ψυχαῖς ἔστηκεν, οὐδὲ χλαῖνα θάλπει αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἔριον, δ' ἀπ' ἐμψύχου ἐπέχθη, ὑπόδημα δὲ αὐτοῖς βύβλου δίδωμι καὶ καθεύδειν ὡς ἔτυχε, καὶ ἀφροδισίων ἠττηθέντας αἰσθωμαι, βάραθρά ἐστί μοι, καθ' ὧν σοφίας ὀπαδὸς δίκη φέρει τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὠθεῖ, χαλεπὴ δ' οὕτως ἐγὼ τοῖς τὰμὰ αἰρουμένοις, ὡς καὶ δεσμὰ γλώττης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔχειν· ἃ δ' ἐστὶ σοι καρτερήσαντι ταῦτα, ἐμοῦ μάθε· σωφροσύνη μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνη αὐτόθεν, ζηλωτὸν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι

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that she would give me rest after toil ; and a third CHAP.
XI
that she would mingle mirth and merriment in my toil ; and everywhere I had glimpses of pleasures and of unrestrained indulgence in the pleasures of the table ; and it seemed that I had only to stretch out my hand to be rich, and that I needed not to set any bridle upon my eyes, but love and loose desire and such-like feelings were freely allowed me. One of them, however, boasted that she would restrain me from such things, but she was bold and abusive and in an unabashed manner elbowed all others aside ; and I beheld the ineffable form of wisdom which long ago conquered the soul of Pythagoras ; and she stood, I may tell you, not among the many, but kept herself apart and in silence ; and when she saw that I ranged not myself with the rest, though as yet I knew not what were her wares, she said : ‘ Young man, I am unpleasing and a lady full of sorrows ; for, if anyone betakes himself to my abode, he must of his own choice put away all dishes which contain the flesh of living animals, and he must forget wine, nor make muddy therewith the cup of wisdom which is set in the souls of those that drink no wine ; nor shall blanket keep him warm, nor wool shorn from a living animal. But I allow him shoes of bark, and he must sleep anywhere and anyhow, and if I find my votaries yielding to sensual pleasures, I have precipices to which justice that waits upon wisdom carries them and pushes them over ; and I am so harsh to those who make choice of my discipline that I have bits ready to restrain their tongues. But learn from me what rewards you shall reap by enduring all this ; Temperance and justice unsought and

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XI

μηδένα, τυράννοις τε φοβερὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι, θεοῖς τε ἡδίῳ φαίνεσθαι μικρὰ θύσαντα ἢ οἱ προχέοντες αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν ταύρων αἷμα, καθαρῶ δὲ ὄντι σοι καὶ προγιγνώσκειν δώσω, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὕτω τι ἐμπλήσω ἀκτῖνος, ὥς διαγιγνώσκειν μὲν θεόν, γινώσκειν δὲ ἥρωα, σκιοειδῇ δ' ἐλέγχειν φαντάσματα, ὅτε ψεύδονται εἶδη ἀνθρώπων.” ἦδε μοι βίου αἵρεσις, ὧ σοφοὶ Αἰγυπτίων, ἣν ὑγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἐλόμενος οὔτε ἐψευσάμην οὔτε ἐψεύσθην, ἐγενόμην μὲν γὰρ ἂ χρὴ τὸν φιλοσόφῃσαντα, φιλοσοφοῦντι δὲ ὁπόσα δώσειν ἔφη, πάντ' ἔχω. ἐφιλοσόφησα γὰρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως τῆς τέχνης καὶ ὁπόθεν αὐτῆς αἱ ἀρχαί, καὶ μοι ἔδοξεν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι περιττῶν τὰ θεῖα ψυχὴν τε ἄριστα ἐσκεμμένων, ἧς τὸ ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ ἀγέννητον πηγαὶ γενέσεως.

Ἀθηναίοις μὲν οὖν οὐ πάνυ προσήκων ἐφαίνετό μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος, τὸν γὰρ Πλάτωνος λόγον, ὃν θεσπεσίως ἐκεῖ καὶ πανσόφως ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἀνεφθέγγετο, αὐτοὶ διέβαλλον ἐναντίας ταύτης καὶ οὐκ ἀληθεῖς δόξας ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς προσέμενοι, ἔδει δὲ σκοπεῖν, τίς μὲν εἴη πόλις, ποίων δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἔθνος, παρ' οἷς οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις, ὁ δὲ οὐ, πᾶσα δὲ ἡλικία ταῦτόν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς φθέγγοιτο· καὶ γὰρ μὲν νεότητός τε οὕτως ἀγούσης καὶ τοῦ μήπω ξυνιέναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔβλεψα, ἐπειδὴ πλείστα ἐλέ-

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at once, and the faculty to regard no man with envy, and to be dreaded by tyrants rather than cringe to them, and to have your humble offerings appear sweeter to the gods than the offerings of those who pour out before them the blood of bulls. And when you are pure I will grant you the faculty of foreknowledge, and I will so fill your eyes with light, that you shall distinguish a god, and recognise a hero, and detect and put to shame the shadowy phantoms which disguise themselves in the form of men.' This was the life I chose, ye wise of the Egyptians; it was a sound choice and in the spirit of Pythagoras, and in making it I neither deceived myself, nor was deceived; for I have become all that a philosopher should become, and all that she promised to bestow upon the philosopher, that is mine. For I have studied profoundly the problem of the rise of the art and whence it draws its first principles; and I have realised that it belongs to men of transcendent religious gifts, who have thoroughly investigated the nature of the soul, the well-springs of whose existence lie back in the immortal and in the unbegotten.

Now I agree that this doctrine was wholly alien to the Athenians; for when Plato in their city lifted up his voice and discoursed upon the soul, full of inspiration and wisdom, they cavilled against him and adopted opinions of the soul opposed thereto and altogether false. And one may well ask whether there is any city, or any race of men, where not one more and another less, but wherein men of all ages alike, will enunciate the same doctrine of the soul. And I myself, because my youth and inexperience so inclined me, began by looking up to

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γεσθε ὑπερφυῶς εἰδέναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ διήειν ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ ἐφιστάς με, “εἰ τῶν ἐρώντων,” εἶπεν, “ἐτύγχανες ὦν ἢ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐχόντων τοῦ ἐρᾶν, εἶτα μεираκίῳ καλῶ ἐντυχῶν καὶ ἀγασθῆις αὐτὸ τῆς ὥρας, σὺ δὲ καὶ ὅτου εἶη παῖς ἐξήτεις, ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἵπποτρόφου καὶ στρατηγοῦ πατρὸς καὶ χορηγοὶ οἱ πάπποι, σὺ δ’ αὐτὸν τριηράρχου τινὸς ἢ φυλάρχου ἐκάλεις, ἄρα γ’ ἂν οἶει προσάγεσθαι τὰ παιδικὰ τούτοις, ἢ καὶ ἀηδὴς δόξαι μὴ πατρόθεν ὀνομάζων τὸ μεираκίον, ἀλλ’ ἀπ’ ἐκφύλου σποράς καὶ νόθου; σοφίας οὖν ἐρῶν, ἦν Ἰνδοὶ εὖρον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πατέρων ὀνομάζεις αὐτήν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν θέσει, καὶ δίδως τι μείζον Αἰγυπτίοις, ἢ εἰ πάλιν αὐτοῖς, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἄδουσι, μέλιτι ξυγκεκραμένος ἀναβαίη ὁ Νεῖλος;” ταῦτά με πρὸ ὑμῶν ἐπ’ Ἰνδοὺς ἔτρεψεν ἐνθυμηθέντα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς λεπτότεροι μὲν τὴν ξύνεσιν οἱ τοιοῖδε ἄνθρωποι καθαρωτέραις ὁμιλοῦντες ἀκτίσιν, ἀληθέστεροι δὲ τὰς περὶ φύσεώς τε καὶ θεῶν δόξας, ἅτε ἀγχίθιοι καὶ πρὸς ἀρχαῖς τῆς ζωογόνου καὶ θερμῆς οὐσίας οἰκοῦντες· ἐντυχῶν τε αὐτοῖς ἔπαθόν τι πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῶν

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yourselves, because you had the reputation of an extraordinary knowledge of most things; but when I explained my views to my own teacher, he interrupted me, and said as follows: 'Supposing you were in a passionate mood and being of an impressionable age were inclined to form a friendship; and suppose you met a handsome youth and admired his looks, and you asked whose son he was, and suppose he were the son of a knight or a general, and that his grand-parents had been furnishers of a chorus,—if then you dubbed him the child of some skipper or policeman, do you suppose that you would thereby be the more likely to captivate his affections, and that you would not rather make yourself odious to him by refusing to call him by his father's name, and giving him instead that of some ignoble and spurious parent? If then you were enamoured of the wisdom which the Indians discovered, would you call it not by the name which its natural parents bore, but by the name of its adoptive sires; and so confer upon the Egyptians a greater boon, than if that were to happen over again which their own poets relate, namely if the Nile on reaching its full were found to be with honey blent?' It was this which turned my steps to the Indians rather than to yourselves; for I reflected that they were more subtle in their understanding, because such men as they live in contact with a purer daylight, and entertain truer opinions of nature and of the gods, because they are near unto the latter, and live on the edge and confines of that thermal essence which quickens all unto life. And when I came among them, their message made the same im-

CHAP.
 XI
 Defends the
 originality
 and wisdom
 of the
 Brahmins

CAP. XI ἀνδρῶν, ὁποῖον λέγονται πρὸς τὴν Αἰσχύλου σοφίαν παθεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι· ποιητῆς μὲν γὰρ οὗτος τραγωδίας ἐγένετο, τὴν τέχνην δὲ ὁρῶν ἀκατάσκευόν τε καὶ μήπω κεκοσμημένην, εἰ μὲν ξυνέστειλε τοὺς χοροὺς ἀποτάδην ὄντας, ἢ τὰς τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἀντιλέξεις εὖρε, παραιτησάμενος τὸ τῶν μονωδιῶν μῆκος, ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπενόησεν, ὥς μὴ ἐν φανερῷ σφάττοι, σοφίας μὲν μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀπηλλάχθω, δοκείτω δὲ καὶ ἐτέρῳ παρασχεῖν ἔννοιαν ἡττον· δεξιῷ τὴν ποίησιν· ὁ δ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν ἑαυτόν, ὥς ἐπάξιον τοῦ τραγωδίαν ποιεῖν φθέγγοιτο, ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὥς προσφυᾶ τῷ μεγαλείῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ καταβεβλημένῳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ πόδα, σκευοποιίας μὲν ἤψατο εἰκασμένης τοῖς τῶν ἡρώων εἵδεσιν, ὀκρίβαντος δὲ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἐνεβίβασεν, ὥς ἴσα ἐκείνοις βαίνοιεν, ἐσθήμασί τε πρῶτος ἐκόσμησεν, ἃ πρόσφορον ἡρώσιν τε καὶ ἡρώισιν ἡσθήσθαι· ὅθεν Ἀθηναῖοι πατέρα μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τραγωδίας ἡγοῦντο, ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνεῶτα ἐς Διονύσια, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ψηφισαμένων ἀνεδιδάσκετο καὶ ἐνῖκα ἐκ καινῆς· καίτοι τραγωδίας μὲν εὖ κεκοσμημένης ὀλίγη χάρις, εὐφραίνει γὰρ ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Διονυσίων ὥρα, φιλοσοφίας δὲ ξυγκειμένης

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

pression upon me as the talent of Aeschylus is said to have made upon the Athenians. For he was a poet of tragedy, and finding the art to be rude and inchoate and as yet not in the least elaborated, he went to work, and curtailed the prolixity of the chorus,¹ and invented dialogues for the actors, discarding the long monodies of the earlier time; and he hit upon a plan of killing people behind the stage instead of their being slain before the eyes of the audience. Well, if we cannot deny his talent in making all these improvements, we must nevertheless admit that they might have suggested themselves equally well to an inferior dramatist. But his talent was twofold. On the one hand as a poet he set himself to make his diction worthy of tragedy, on the other hand as a manager, to adapt his stage to sublime, rather than to humble and grovelling, themes. Accordingly he devised masks which represented the forms of the heroes, and he mounted his actors on buskins so that their gait might correspond to the characters they played; and he was the first to devise stage dresses, which might convey an adequate impression to the audience of the heroes and heroines they saw. For all these reasons the Athenians accounted him to be the father of tragedy; and even after his death they continued to invite him to represent his plays at the Dionysiac festival, for in accordance with public decree the plays of Aeschylus continued to be put upon the stage and win the prize anew. And yet the gratification of a well-staged tragedy is insignificant, for its pleasures last a brief day, as brief as is the season of the Dionysiac festival; but

CHAP.

XI

Comparing
them with
Aeschylus

¹ or "reduced in size the unduly large choruses."

CAP. XI μέν, ὡς Πυθαγόρας ἐδικαίωσεν, ὑποθειαζούσης δέ, ὡς πρὸ Πυθαγόρου Ἴνδοί, οὐκ ἐς βραχὺν χρόνον ἢ χάρις, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄπειρόν τε καὶ ἀριθμοῦ πλείω. οὐ δὴ ἀπεικός τι παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἡττηθεὶς εὖ κεκοσμημένης, ἣν ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον Ἴνδοι στείλαντες ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκκυκλοῦσιν· ὡς δὲ ἐν δίκῃ μὲν ἡγάσθην αὐτούς, ἐν δίκῃ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι σοφούς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὧρα μανθάνειν· εἶδον ἄνδρας οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀτειχίστως τετειχισμένους, καὶ οὐδὲν κεκτημένους ἢ τὰ πάντων. εἰ δ' αἰνιγμάτων ἄπτομαι, σοφία Πυθαγόρου ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα, παρέδωκε γὰρ καὶ τὸ αἰνίττειν, διδάσκαλον εὐρὼν σιωπῆς λόγον· σοφίας δὲ ταύτης ἐγένεσθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πυθαγόρα ξύμβουλοι χρόνον, ὃν τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἐπηνείτε, Ἴνδοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον πάλαι ὄντες· ἐπεὶ δ' αἰδοῖ τοῦ λόγου, δι' ὃν ἐκ μηνιμάτων τῆς γῆς ἀφίκεσθε δεῦρο, ἕτεροι μᾶλλον ἐβούλεσθε δοκεῖν ἢ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἤκοντες, πάντα ὑμῖν ἐς τοῦτο ἐδράτο. ὅθεν ἐγυμνώθητε μὲν σκευῆς, ὁπόση ἐκεῖθεν, ὥσπερ ξυναποδυνόμενοι τὸ Αἰθίοπες εἶναι, θεοὺς δὲ θεραπεύειν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the gratification of a philosophic system devised to meet the requirements of a Pythagoras, and also breathing the inspiration in which Pythagoras was anticipated by the Indians, lasts not for a brief time, but for an endless and incalculable period. It is then not unreasonable on my part, I think, to have devoted myself to a philosophy so highly elaborated, and to one which, to use a metaphor from the stage, the Indians mount, as it deserves to be mounted, upon a lofty and divine mechanism, and then wheel it forth upon the stage. And that I was right to admire them, and that I am right in considering them to be wise and blessed, it is now time to convince you. I beheld men dwelling upon the earth, and yet not upon it, I beheld them fortified without fortifications, I beheld them possessed of nothing, and yet possessed of all things. You will say that I have taken to riddles, but the wisdom of Pythagoras allows of this; for he taught us to speak in riddles, when he discovered that the word is the teacher of silence. And there was a time when you yourselves took counsel with Pythagoras, and were advocates of this same wisdom; that was in the time when you could say nothing too good of the Indian philosophy, for to begin with and of old you were Indians. Subsequently because your soil was wrath with you, you came hither; and then ashamed of the reasons owing to which you quitted it, you tried to get men to regard you as anything rather than Ethiopians who had come from India hither, and you took every pains to efface your past. This is why you stripped yourselves of the apparel in which you came thence, as if you were anxious to doff along with it your Ethiopian nationality. This is why you

CHAP.
XI

Describes
the
Brahmans
who were
teachers of
the naked
sages

CAP. XI ἐψηφίσασθε τὸν Αἰγύπτιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑμέτε-
 ρον τρόπον, ἐς λόγους τε οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖους ὑπὲρ
 Ἰνδῶν κατέστητε, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ διαβεβλημένοι
 τῷ ἀφ' οἷων διαβεβλήσθαι ἤκειν· καὶ οὐδὲ μετερ-
 ρύθμισθέ· πῶ γέ τοῦτο, οἳ καὶ τήμερον ἐπίδειξιν
 αὐτοῦ πεποίησθε φιλολοιδόρον τε καὶ ἱαμβώδη,
 χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιτηδεύειν Ἰνδοὺς φάσκοντες, ἀλλ'
 ἢ ἐκπλήξεις καὶ ἀγωγάς, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν,
 τὰς δὲ ὠτων, σοφίαν δὲ οὐπω ἐμὴν εἰδότες ἀναίσ-
 θητοι φαίνεσθε τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ δόξης, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ
 ἑμαυτοῦ μὲν λέξω οὐδέν, εἶην γάρ, ὃ με Ἰνδοὶ
 ἡγοῦνται, Ἰνδῶν δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρῶ ἄπτεσθαι. ἀλλ'
 εἰ μὲν τις ὑγιῶς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔχει σοφία Ἰμεραίου
 ἀνδρός,¹ ὃς ἄδων ἐς τὴν Ἑλένην ἐναντίον τῷ
 προτέρῳ λόγῳ παλινῳδίαν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκ
 ἔστιν ἔτυμος ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἤδη καὶ αὐτοὺς ὦρα
 λέγειν, ἀμείνω τῆς νῦν παρεστηκυίας μεταλαβόν-
 τας περὶ αὐτῶν δύξαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄμουσοι πρὸς
 παλινῳδίαν ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαί γε χρὴ ἀνδρῶν,
 οὓς ἀξιοῦντες θεοὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὐδὲ ἑαυτοὺς
 ἀπαξιοῦσιν ὧν ἐκείνοι πέπανται. διῆλθές τινα,
 Θεσπεσίων, καὶ περὶ τῆς Πυθοῦς λόγον ὡς
 ἀπλῶς τε καὶ ἀκατασκεύως χρώσης, καὶ παρά-
 δειγμα ἐγένετό σοι τοῦ λόγου νεὼς κηροῦ καὶ πτε-

¹ The reference is to Stesichorus.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

have resolved to worship the gods in the Egyptian CHAP.
XI
rather than in your own fashion, and why you have set yourselves to disseminate unflattering stories of the Indians, as if in maligning them you did not foul your own nest. And in this respect you have not yet altered your tone for the better; for only to-day you have given here an exhibition of your propensities for abuse and satire, pretending that the Indians are no better employed than in startling people and in pandering to their eyes and ears. And because as yet you are ignorant of my wisdom, you show yourself indifferent to the fame which crowns it. Well, in defence of myself I do not mean to say anything, for I am content to be what the Indians think me; but I will not allow them to be attacked. And if you are so sound and sane as to possess any tincture of the wisdom of the man of Himera, who composed in honour of Helen a poem which contradicted a former one and called it a palinode, it is high time for you also to use the words he used and say: 'This discourse of ours is not true,' so changing your opinion and adopting one better than you at present entertain about these people. But if you have not the wit to recant, you must at least spare men to whom the gods vouchsafe, as worthy of them, their own prerogatives, and whose possessions they do not disdain for themselves.

"You have also, Thespion, made some remarks about the simplicity and freedom from pomp which characterises the Pythian oracle; and by way of example you instanced the temple composed of wax and feathers; but I do not myself find that

Refutes the argument derived from the Pythian oracle

CAP. ρῶν ξυντεθείς · ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀκατάσκευα μὲν δοκεῖ οὐδὲ
 XI ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ

ξυμφέρετε πτερά τ' οἶωνοι κηρόν τε μέλιτται
 κατασκευαζομένου ἦν οἶκον καὶ οἴκου σχῆμα, ὁ δ',
 οἶμαι, μικρὰ ταῦτα ἡγούμενος καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σο-
 φίας ἤττω, καὶ ἄλλου ἐδεήθη νεὼ καὶ ἄλλου καὶ
 μεγάλων ἤδη καὶ ἑκατομπέδων, ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ
 χρυσᾶς Ἰυγγας ἀνάψαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπε-
 χούσας πειθῶ, ξυνελέξατό τε τὰ εὐδοκιμώτατα τῶν
 ἀναθημάτων ἐς τὴν Πυθῶ κόσμου ἕνεκα, καὶ οὐτ'
 ἀγαλματοποιίαν ἀπήλασεν ἀπάγουσαν αὐτῷ
 κολοσσούς ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοὺς μὲν θεῶν, τοὺς δὲ
 ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ ἵππων τε καὶ ταύρων καὶ ἐτέ-
 ρων ζώων· οὔτε Γλαῦκον μετὰ τοῦ ὑποκρατηριδίου
 ἦκοντα, οὔτε τὴν ἀλίσκομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν
 ἦν Πολύγνωτος ἐκεῖ γράφει. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν χρυ-
 σὸν γε τὸν Λύδιον καλλώπισμα τῆς Πυθοῦς ἡγεῖτο,
 ἀλλ' ἐκείνον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐσήγετο,
 ἐνδεικνύμενος, οἶμαι, αὐτοῖς τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων
 πλοῦτον, ἵνα γλίχοιντο ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ
 διαπορθεῖν τὰ ἀλλήλων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἑλληνά τε καὶ
 προσφνᾶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ τρόπον κατεσκευάζετο
 καὶ ἡγλαίζε τούτῳ τὴν Πυθῶ. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ αὐτὸν
 κόσμου ἕνεκα καὶ ἐς μέτρα ἐμβιβάζειν τοὺς χρησ-
 μούς. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο ἐπεδείκνυτο, τοιάσδε ἂν τὰς

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even this was devoid of pomp, for we have the CHAP.
XI
line :

‘Oh birds bring hither your wings, and bees your
wax.’

Such language betokens a carefully prepared home and the form of house. And the god I believe regarded even this as too humble and below the dignity of his wisdom, and therefore desired to have another and yet another temple, big ones these and a hundred feet in breadth ; and from one of them it is said that golden figures of the wryneck were hung up which possessed in a manner the charm of the Sirens ; and the god collected the most precious of the offerings into the Pythian temple for ornament ; nor did he reject works of statuary, when their authors brought him to his temple colossal figures both of gods and men, and also of horses, oxen and other animals ; nor did he refuse the gift which Glaucus brought thither of a stand for a goblet, nor the picture of the taking of the citadel of Ilium which Polygnotus painted there. For I imagine he did not consider that the gold of Lydia really beautified the Pythian fane, but he admitted it on behalf of the Hellenes themselves, by way of pointing out to them, I believe, the immense riches of the barbarians, and inducing them to covet that rather than continue to ravage one another's lands. And he accordingly adopted the Greek fashion of art which suited his peculiar wisdom, and adorned his shrine therewith. And I believe that it was by way of adornment that he also puts his oracles in metrical form. For if he did not wish to make a show in this matter, he would surely

CAP. XI. ἀποκρίσεις ἐποιεῖτο · δρᾶ τὸ δεῖνα ἢ μὴ δρᾶ, καὶ ἴθι ἢ μὴ ἴθι, καὶ ποιοῦ ξυμμάχους ἢ μὴ ποιοῦ, βραχέα γάρ που ταῦτα, ἢ, ὥς φατε ὑμεῖς, γυμνά, ὁ δ' ἵνα μεγαλορρήμων τε φαίνοιτο καὶ ἡδίων τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι, ποιητικὴν ἡρμόσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ εἶναι, ὅ τι μὴ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ψάμμον εἰδέναι¹ φησίν, ὀπόση, ἀριθμήσας αὐτήν, καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης μέτρα ξυνειληφέναι πάντα.

Ἡ καὶ ταῦτα τερατολογία προσγράφεις, ἐπειδὴ σοβαρῶς αὐτὰ ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ ξὺν φρονήματι ὀρθῶ φράζει ; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀχθέση, Θεσπεσίῳν, τῷ λόγῳ, γρᾶες ἀνημμένοι κόσκινα φοιτῶσιν ἐπὶ ποιμένας, ὅτε δὲ καὶ βουκόλους, ἰώμεναι τὰ νοσοῦντα τῶν θρεμμάτων μαντικῇ, ὥς φασιν, ἀξιοῦσι δὲ σοφαὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ σοφώτεραι ἢ οἱ ἀτεχνῶς μάντεις· τοῦτό μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν φαίνεσθε, οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεῖοί τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηνται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν, ὑμεῖς δέ—ἀλλ' οὐδὲν εἰρήσεται περαιτέρω, εὐφημία γὰρ φίλη μὲν ἐμοί, φίλη δὲ Ἰνδοῖς, ἣν ἀσπαζοίμην ὥς ὀπαδὸν ἅμα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς γλώττης, τὰ μὲν ἐμαυτῷ δυνατὰ θηρεύων ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἔρωτι, ὅ τι δὲ μὴ ἐφικτὸν εἶη μοι, καταλείπων αὐτὸ ἄχραντον ψόγου. σὺ δὲ Ὀμήρου μὲν

¹ The reference is to Herodotus, Book I. p. 11.

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make his responses in such forms as the following: CHAP.
'Do this, or do not do that'; and 'go, or do not XI
go,' or 'choose allies, or do not choose them.'
For here are short formulas, or as you call it naked ones. But in order to display his mastery of the grand style, and in order to please those who came to consult his oracle, he adopted the poetical form; and he does not allow that anything exists which he does not know, but claims to have counted the sands of the sea and to know their number, and also to have fathomed the depths of the sea.

"But I suppose you will call it miracle-mongering, that Apollo dictates his oracles with such proud dignity and elation of spirit? But if you will not be annoyed, Thespesion, at what I say, there are certain old women who go about with sieves in their hands to shepherds, sometimes to cow-herds, pretending to heal their flocks, when they are sick, by divination, as they call it, and they claim to be called wise women, yea wiser than those who are unfeignedly prophets. It seems to me that you are in the same case, when I contrast your wisdom with that of the Indians; for they are divine, and have trimmed and adorned their science after the manner of the Pythian oracle; but you—however I will say no more, for modesty in speech is as dear to me as it is dear to the Indians, and I would be glad to have it at once to attend upon and to guide my tongue, seeking to compass what is in my power when I am praising those to whom I am so devoted, but leaving alone what is too high for me to attain unto, without bespattering it with petty disapproval. But you no Odyss.
doubt delight in the story which you have read in

CAP. XI ἐν Κυκλωπία ἀκούων, ὥς ἡ γῆ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους ἄσπορος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἐστιᾷ. χαίρεις τῷ λόγῳ, κἂν Ἕδωνοί τινες ἢ Λυδοὶ βακχεύωσιν, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖς, ὥς γάλακτος αὐτοῖς καὶ οἴνου πηγὰς δώσει καὶ ποτιεῖ τούτους, τοὺς δὲ σοφίας ἀπάσης βákχους ἀφαιρήσῃ δῶρα αὐτόματα παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἦκοντα; τρίποδες δὲ αὐτόματοι καὶ ἐς τὰ ξυμπόσια τῶν θεῶν φοιτῶσι, καὶ ὁ Ἄρης ἀμαθῆς περ ὧν καὶ ἐχθρὸς οὕπω τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, οὐδ' ἔστιν, ὥς ἦκουσάν ποτε οἱ θεοὶ τοιαύτης γραφῆς· ἀδικεῖς, Ἥφαιστε, κοσμῶν τὸ ξυμπόσιον τῶν θεῶν καὶ περιστὰς αὐτῷ θαύματα, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δμωαῖς αἰτίαν ποτὲ ἔσχε ταῖς χρυσαῖς, ὥς παραφθείρων τὰς ὕλας, ἐπειδὴ τὸν χρυσὸν ἔμπνουν ἐποίει, κόσμου γὰρ ἐπιμελήσεται τέχνη πᾶσα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι τέχνας ὑπὲρ κόσμου εὔρηται. ἀνυποδησία δὲ καὶ τρίβων καὶ πῆραν ἀνῆφθαι κόσμον εὔρημα· καὶ γὰρ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι, καθάπερ ὑμεῖς, ἔοικε μὲν ἀκατάσκευφ τε καὶ λιτῷ σχήματι, ἐπιτετήδευται δὲ ὑπὲρ κόσμου καὶ οὐδὲ ἄπεστιν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐτέρῳ φασὶ τύφῳ. τὰ δὲ Ἑλίου τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν πάτρια καὶ ὅπη χαίρει θεραπευόμενος ἐχέτω τὸν αὐτῶν νόμον, θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ χθόνιοι βόθρους ἀσπύσσονται καὶ τὰ ἐν κοίλῃ τῇ γῇ δρώμενα, Ἑλίου δὲ

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Homer about the Cyclopes, how their land, all unsown and unploughed, nourished the most fearless and most lawless of beings; and if it is some Edoni or Lydians who are conducting their bacchic revels, you are quite ready to believe that the earth will supply them with fountains of milk and wine, and give them to drink thereof; but you would deny to these Indians, lovers of all wisdom as enthusiastic as ever bacchantes were, the unsought bounties which earth offers them. Moreover tripods, gifted with wills of their own, attend the banquets of the gods also; and Ares, ignorant and hostile as he was to Hephaestus, yet never accused him merely for making them; nor is it conceivable that the gods ever listened to such an indictment as this: 'You commit an injustice, O Hephaestus, in adorning the banquet of the gods, and encompassing it with miracles.' Nor was Hephaestus ever sued for constructing hand-maids of gold, nor accused of debasing the metals because he made the gold to breathe. For every art is interested to adorn, and the very existence of the arts was a discovery made in behalf of ornament. Moreover a man who goes without shoes and wears a philosopher's cloak and hangs a wallet on his back is a creature of ornament; nay, more even the nakedness which you affect, in spite of its rough and plain appearance, has for its object ornament and decoration, though here too there is not absent a certain element of what they call empty pride. We must judge by the same standard the religion of the Sun and the national rites of the Indians and any cult in which that god delights; for the subterranean gods will always prefer deep trenches and ceremonies conducted in the hollows of the earth, but the air is

CHAP
XI

CAP. XI. ἄῤῥ ὄχημα, καὶ δεῖ τοὺς προσφόρως ἀσομένους αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς αἵρεσθαι καὶ ξυμμετεωροπολεῖν τῷ θεῷ· τοῦτο δὲ βούλονται μὲν πάντες, δύνανται δὲ Ἴνδοι μόνοι.”

XII

CAP. XII. Ἀναπνεῦσαι ὁ Δάμις ἑαυτὸν φησιν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτά ἤκουσεν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λόγων οὕτω διατεθῆναι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὥς τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα μὲν καίτοι μέλανα ὄντα κατάδηλον εἶναι, ὅτι ἐρυθριῶν, φαίνεσθαι δέ τινα καὶ περὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔκπληξιν ἐφ’ οἷς ἐρρωμένως τε καὶ ξὺν εὐροῖᾳ διαλεγομένου ἤκουσαν, τὸν νεώτατον δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Νεῖλος, καὶ ἀναπηδῆσαί φησιν ὑπὸ θαύματος, μεταστάντα τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμβαλεῖν τε αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὰς ξυνουσίας, αἱ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνδούς, φράζειν. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον, “σοὶ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἂν,” φάναι, “βασκῆναιμι ἐγὼ λόγου, φιληκόῳ τε, ὥς ὁρῶ, τυγχάνοντι καὶ σοφίαν ἀσπαζομένῳ πᾶσαν,” Θεσπεσίῳνι δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος λῆρον τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἡγεῖται, μὴ ἂν ἐπαντλήσαι τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν λόγους· ὅθεν ὁ Θεσπεσίῳν, “εἰ δὲ ἔμπορος,” εἶπεν, “ἡ ναύκληρος ἦσθα καὶ τινα ἡμῖν ἀπηγες ἐκεῖθεν φόρτον, ἅρα ἂν ἡξίους, ἐπειδὴ ἀπ’ Ἰνδῶν οὗτος, ἀδοκίμαστον αὐτὸν διατίθεσθαι καὶ μήτε γεῦμα παρέχειν αὐτοῦ μήτε δείγμα;” ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “παρειχόμεν ἂν,” εἶπε, “τοῖς γε χρήζουσιν, εἰ δ’ ἤκων τις

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the chariot of the sun ; and those who would sing his praise in a fitting manner must rise from the earth and soar aloft with the god ; and this everyone would like to do, but the Indians alone are able to do it.”

CHAP.
XI

XII

DAMIS says that he breathed afresh when he heard this address ; for that the Egyptians were so impressed by Apollonius' words, that Thespesion, in spite of the blackness of his complexion, visibly blushed, while the rest of them seemed in some way stunned by the vigorous and fluent discourse which they listened to ; but the youngest of them, whose name was Nilus, leapt up from the ground, he says, in admiration, and passing over to Apollonius shook hands with him, and besought him to tell him about the interviews which he had had with the Indians. And Apollonius, he says, replied : “ I should not grudge you anything, for you are ready to listen, as I see, and are ready to welcome wisdom of every kind ; but I should not care to pour out the teachings I gathered there upon Thespesion or on anyone else who regards the lore of the Indians as so much nonsense.” Whereupon Thespesion said : “ But if you were a merchant or a seafarer, and you brought to us some cargo or other from over there, would you claim, merely because it came from India, to dispose of it untested and unexamined, refusing us either the liberty of looking at it or tasting it ? ” But Apollonius replied as follows : “ I should furnish it to those who asked for it ; but if the moment my ship had reached the harbour, some one came

CHAP.
XII
Nilus, the
youngest of
the Naked
Sages, goes
over to
Apollonius

CAP.
XII. ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν καταπεπλευκυίας ἄρτι τῆς νεώς, ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῷ φόρτῳ καὶ διέβαλλε μὲν αὐτον ὡς ἤκοντα ἐκ γῆς, ἢ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φέρει, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπέπληττεν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων ἀγωγίμων πλεύσαντι, τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἐπειθεν οὕτω φρονεῖν, ἄρ' ἂν σοι δοκεῖ τις καταπλεύσας ἐς τοιόνδε λιμένα βαλέσθαι τινὰ ἄγκυραν ἢ πείσμα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀνασείσας τὰ ἰστίᾳ μετεωρίσαι ἂν τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνέμοις ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἡδιόν γε ἢ ἀκρίτοις τε καὶ ἀξένοις ἤθεσιν;" "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος, "λαμβάνομαι τῶν πεισμάτων καὶ ἀντιβολῶ σε, ναύκληρε, κοινωνήσαί μοι τῆς ἐμπορίας, ἣν ἄγεις, καὶ ξυνεμβαίην ἂν σοι τὴν ναῦν περίνεός τε καὶ μνήμων τοῦ σοῦ φόρτου."

XIII

CAP.
XIII. Διαπαῦσαι δὲ ὁ Θεσπεσίῳν ζητῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, "χαίρω," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, ὅτι ἄχθη ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσας· καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἡμῖν ξυγγιγνώσκοις ἀχθομένοις ὑπὲρ ὧν διέβαλες τὴν δεῦρο σοφίαν, οὐδὲ ἐς πεῖραν πω αὐτῆς ἀφιγμένος." ὁ δ' ἐκπλαγεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς βραχὺ τῷ μῆδ' ἀκήκοέναι πω τὰ περὶ τὸν Θρασύβουλον τε καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ξυμβαλὼν δ', ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὸ γεγονός, "Ἰνδοὶ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσπεσίῳν, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο ἔπαθον, οὐδ' ἂν προσέσχον Εὐφράτη καθιέντι ταῦτα, σοφοὶ γὰρ προγιγνώσκειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἴδιον μὲν ἑμαυτοῦ πρὸς Εὐφράτην διηνέχθην οὐδέν,

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down to the beach and began to run down my cargo and abuse myself, and say that I came from a country which produces nothing worth having, and if he reproached me for sailing with a cargo of shoddy goods, and tried to persuade the rest to think like himself, do you suppose that one would, after entering such a harbour, cast anchor or make his cables fast, and not rather hoist his sails and put out to sea afresh, entrusting his goods more gladly to the winds than to such undiscerning and inhospitable people?" "Well, I anyhow," said Nilus, "lay hold on your cables, and entreat you, my skipper, to let me share your goods that you bring hither; and I would gladly embark with you in your ship as a super-cargo and a clerk to check your merchandise."

XIII

THESPESION, however, was anxious to put a stop to such propositions, so he said: "I am glad, Apollonius, that you are annoyed at what we said to you; for you can the more readily condone our annoyance at the misrepresentation you made of our local wisdom, long before you had gained any experience of its quality." Apollonius was for a moment astonished at these words, for he had heard nothing as yet of the intrigues of Thrasybulus and Euphrates: but as was his wont, he guessed the truth and said: "The Indians, O Thespesion, would never have behaved as you have, nor have given ear to these insinuations dropped by Euphrates, for they have a gift of prescience. Now I never had any quarrel of my own with Euphrates; I only tried to wean him of his

CHAP.
XII

CHAP.
XIII
Apollonius
rebutts the
calumnies
of
Euphrates

χρημάτων δὲ ἀπάγων αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπαινεῖν
 τὸ ἐξ ἅπαντος κέρδος, οὐτ' ἐπιτήδεια συμβουλευεῖν
 ἔδοξα οὔτε ἐκείνῳ δυνατά, καὶ ἔλεγχον δὲ ἡγείται
 ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀνίησιν αἰεί τι κατ' ἐμοῦ ξυντιθείς.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πιθανὸς ὑμῖν ἔδοξε τοῦμὸν διαβάλλειν
 ἦθος, ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὥς προτέρους ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ διέ-
 βαλεν· ἐμοὶ γὰρ κίνδυνοι μὲν καὶ περὶ τὸν δι-
 βεβλησόμενον οὐ σμικροὶ φαίνονται, μισήσεται
 γάρ που ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ κινδύνων
 οὐδ' οἱ τῶν διαβολῶν ἀκροασόμενοι δοκοῦσιν,
 εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀλώσονται ψευδολογίαν τιμῶν-
 τες καὶ ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὴν ὦνπερ τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
 εἶτα κουφότητα καὶ εὐαγωγίαν — ἡττᾶσθαι δὲ
 τούτων καὶ μεираκίῳ αἰσχρόν — φθονεροὶ τε
 δόξουσι διδάσκαλον ἀκοῆς ἀδίκου ποιούμενοι τὸν
 φθόνον, αὐτοὶ τε μᾶλλον ἔνοχοι ταῖς διαβολαῖς,
 ἃς ἐφ' ἐτέρων ἀληθεῖς ἡγοῦνται, αἱ γὰρ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων φύσεις ἐτοιμότεραι δρᾶν, ἢ μὴ ἀπι-
 στοῦσι. μὴ τυραννεύσειεν ἀνὴρ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα,
 μηδὲ προσταίη δήμου, τυραννὶς γὰρ καὶ ἡ δημο-
 κρατία ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔσται, μηδὲ δικάσειεν, ὑπὲρ
 μηδενὸς γὰρ γνώσεται, μηδὲ ναυκληρήσειεν, ἢ γὰρ
 ναῦς στασιάσει, μηδὲ ἄρξειε στρατοῦ, τὸ γὰρ ἀν-
 τίξοον εὖ πράξει, μηδὲ φιλοσοφήσειεν οὕτως ἔχων,
 οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τἀληθὲς δοξάσει. ὑμᾶς δὲ Εὐφράτης

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passion for money and cure his propensity to value everything by what he could make out of it ; but I found that my advice was not congenial to him, nor in his case practicable ; nay he merely takes it as a tacit reproach, and never loses any opportunity of intriguing against me. But since you have found his attacks upon my character so plausible, I may as well tell you that it is you, rather than myself, that he has calumniated. For though, as is clear to me, the victims of calumny incur considerable dangers, since they are, I suppose, sure to be disliked without having done any wrong, yet neither are those who incline to listen to the calumnies free from danger ; for in the first place they will be convicted of paying respect to lies and giving them as much attention as they would to the truth, and secondly they are convicted of levity and credulity, faults which it is disgraceful even for a stripling to fall into. And they will be thought envious, because they allow envy to teach them to listen to unjust tittle-tattle ; and they expose themselves all the more to calumny, because they think it true of others. For man is by nature inclined to commit a fault which he does not discredit when he hears it related of others. Heaven forbid that a man of these inclinations should become a tyrant, or even president of a popular state ; for in his hands even a democracy would become a tyranny ; nor let him be made a judge, for surely he will not ever discern the truth. Nor let him be captain of a ship, for the crew would mutiny, nor general of an army, for that would bring luck to the adversary ; nor let one of his disposition attempt philosophy, for he would not consider the truth in forming his opinions. But Euphrates has deprived you of even

CHAP.
XIII

CAP.
XIII ἀφήρηται καὶ τὸ σοφὸν εἶναι, οὓς γὰρ ψεύδει
ὑπηγάγετο, πῶς ἂν οὗτοι σοφίας αὐτοὺς ἀξιώ-
σειαν, ἧς ἀπέστησαν τῷ τὰ μὴ πιθανὰ πείσαντι;”
διαπραῦντων δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “ἄλλης Εὐ-
φράτου,” ἔφη, “καὶ μικροψύχων λόγων, καὶ γὰρ ἂν
καὶ διαλλακταὶ γενοίμεθα σοι τε καὶ κείνῳ, σοφὸν
ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὸ δαιτιᾶν σοφοῖς. πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς,”
εἶπε, “τίς διαλλάξει με; χρὴ γάρ που καταψευ-
σθέντα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψεύδους.” * * *¹
“ἐχέτω οὕτως,” ἡ δ’ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “καὶ σπουδῆς
ἀπτόμεθα, τουτὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς διαλλάξει μᾶλλον.”

XIV

CAP.
XIV Ἐρῶν δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος τῆς ἀκροάσεως τοῦ ἀνδρός,
“καὶ μὴν σέ,” ἔφη, “προσθήκει ἄρξαι τοῦ σπου-
δάσαι, διελθόντα ἡμῖν τήν τε ἀποδημίαν τὴν γενο-
μένην σοι ἐς τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος τὰς τε ἐκεῖ σπουδάς,
αἷς ὑπὲρ λαμπρῶν δήπου ἐποιεῖσθε.” “ἐγὼ δέ,”
ἔφη ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “καὶ περὶ τῆς Φραώτου σοφίας
ἀκοῦσαι ποθῶ, λέγεσθε γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων
ἀγάλματα ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἄγειν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολ-
λώνιος ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ποιη-
σάμενος διήκει πάντα, οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἡκροῶντο
ὑποκείμενοι τῷ λόγῳ. μεσημβρία δ’ ὥς ἐγένετο,
διέλυσαν τὴν σπουδὴν, τὸν γὰρ καιρὸν τοῦτον καὶ
οἱ Γυμνοὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς γίνονται.

¹ There seems a lacuna here in the text.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the quality of wisdom ; for how can those on whom he has imposed with his falsehoods claim wisdom for themselves ? have they not deserted from it to take sides with one who has persuaded them of improbabilities ? ” Here Thespesion tried to calm him, and remarked : “ Enough of Euphrates and of his small-minded affairs ; for we are quite ready even to reconcile you with him, since we consider it the proper work of a sage to be umpire in the disputes of other sages.” “ But,” said Apollonius, “ who shall reconcile me with you ? For the victim of lies must surely be driven into hostility by the falsehood.” . . . “ Be it so,” said Apollonius, “ and let us hold a conversation, for that will be the best way of reconciling us.”

XIV

AND Nilus, as he was passionately anxious to listen to Apollonius, said : “ And what’s more, it behoves you to begin the conversation, and to tell us all about the journey which you made to the people of India, and about the conversations which you held there, I have no doubt on the most brilliant topics.” “ And I too,” said Thespesion, “ long to hear about the wisdom of Phraotes, for you are said to have brought from India some examples of his arguments.” Apollonius accordingly began by telling them about the events which occurred in Babylon, and told them everything, and they gladly listened to him, spell-bound by his words. But when it was mid-day, they broke off the conversation, for at this time of day the naked sages, like others attend to the ceremonies of religion.

CHAP.
XIII

CHAP.
XIV
Nilus
persuades
Apollonius
to relate
his Indian
experiences

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XV

CAP.
XV

Δειπνοῦντι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἁμφ' αὐτὸν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐφίσταται λαχάνοις ἅμα καὶ ἄρτοις καὶ τραγήμασι, τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς φέρων, τὰ δὲ ἕτεροι, καὶ μάλα ἀστείως, “οἱ σοφοί,” ἔφη, “ξένια πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν τε κὰμοι ταῦτα, κἀγὼ γὰρ ξυσσιτήσω ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἄκλητος, ὥς φασιν, ἀλλ' ἔμαυτὸν καλῶν.” “ἡδύ,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὑπάγεις, ὦ νεανία, ξένιον, σεαυτὸν τε καὶ τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἦθος, ὃς ἀδύλως μὲν φιλοσοφοῦντι ἔοικας, ἀσπαζομένῳ δὲ τὰ Ἰνδῶν τε καὶ Πυθαγόρου. κατακλίνου δὴ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ξυσσίτει.” “κατάκειμαι,” ἔφη, “σιτία δὲ οὐκ ἔσται σοι τοσαῦτα, ὥς ἐμπλήσai με.” “ἔοικας,” εἶπεν, “εὖσιτος εἶναι καὶ δεινὸς φαγεῖν.” “δεινότατος μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “ὃς γὰρ τοσαύτην καὶ οὕτω λαμπρὰν δαίτᾱ σου παραθέντος οὐπω ἐμπέπλησμαι, διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον πάλιν ἐπισιτιούμενος ἤκω, τί φήσεις ἄλλ' ἢ ἀκόρεστόν τε εἶναί με καὶ δεινῶς γάστριν;” “ἐμπίπλασο,” εἶπεν, “ἀφορμαὶ δ', ὅποσαι λόγων, τὰς μὲν αὐτὸς παραδίδου, τὰς δὲ ἐγὼ δώσω.”

XVI

CAP.
XVI

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν, “ἐγώ,” ἢ δ' ὁ Νεῖλος, “τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐστρατευόμην ὁμοῦ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς, οἷον ψιλοῖς τισιν ἢ σφενδονήταις ἐκείνοις ἔμαυτὸν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XV

APOLLONIUS and his comrades were about to dine, when Nilus presented himself with vegetables and bread and dried fruits, some of which he carried himself, while his friends carried the rest; and very politely he said: "The sages send these gifts of hospitality, not only to yourselves but to me; for I mean to share in your repast, not uninvited, as they say, but inviting myself." "It is a delightful gift of hospitality," said Apollonius, "which you bring to us, O youth, in the shape of yourself and of your disposition, for you are evidently a philosopher without guile, and an enthusiastic lover of the doctrines of the Indians and of Pythagoras. So lie down here and eat with us." "I will do so," said the other, "but your dishes will not be ample enough to satisfy me." "It seems to me," said the other, "that you are a gourmand and an appalling eater." "None like me," said the other, "for although you have set before me so ample and so brilliant a repast, I am not sated; and after a little time I am come back again to eat afresh. What then can you call me but an insatiable cormorant?" "Eat your fill," said Apollonius, "and as for topics of conversation, some you must yourself supply, and I will give you others."

CHAP.

XV

Nilus
defends his
adhesion to
Apollonius

XVI

So when they had dined, "I," said Nilus, "until now have been camping together with the naked sages, and joined my forces with them as

CHAP.
XVI

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XVI

ξυντάττων, νυνὶ δὲ ὀπλιτεύσω καὶ κοσμήσει με ἡ
ἀσπίς ἢ σή.” “ἀλλ’ οἶμαί σε,” εἶπεν, “Αἰγύπτιε,
παρὰ Θεσπεσίῳνί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξειν αἰτίαν,
ἐφ’ οἷς οὐδὲ ἐς ἔλεγχον ἡμῶν καταστὰς πλείω, σὺ
δ’ ἐτοιμότερον ἢ ξυγχωρεῖ βίου αἴρεσις, ἐς τὰ
ἡμέτερα ἦθη ἀφήσεις.” “οἶμαι,” ἔφη, “εἰ δ’
αἰτία ἐλομένου ἔσται τις, τάχα καὶ μὴ ἐλομένου
αἰτία καὶ ἀλώσονται μᾶλλον ἄπερ ἐγὼ ἐλόμενοι.
τὸ γὰρ πρεσβυτέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ σοφωτέρους ὄντας
μὴ πάλαι ἡρῆσθαι, ἄπερ ἐγὼ νῦν, δικαίαν αἰτίαν
κατ’ ἐκείνων ἔχοι ἂν μᾶλλον οὕτω πλεονεκτοῦντας
μὴ ἐς τὸ βέλτιον ἐλέσθαι, ὃ τι χρήσονται.” “οὐκ
ἀγεννῇ μέν, ὦ νεανίσκε, λόγον εἶρηκας· ὅρα δέ, μὴ
αὐτῷ τῷ οὕτω μὲν σοφίας, οὕτω δὲ ἡλικίας ἔχειν
ἐκείνῳ γε ὀρθῶς ἡρημένοι φαίνωνται¹ ταῦτά τε ξυ-
εἰκότι λόγῳ παραιτούμενοι, σὺ τε θρασύτερου
λόγου δοκῆς ἄπτεσθαι καθιστὰς μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἢ
ἐκείνοις ἐπόμενος.” ὑποστρέψας δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος
παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δόξαν, “ἂ μὲν εἰκὸς
ἦν,” ἔφη, “πρεσβυτέροις ὁμαρτεῖν νέον, οὐ παρεῖ-
ταί μοι, σοφίαν γὰρ ὁπότ’ ὥμην εἶναι περὶ τού-
του.”

¹ Kayser reads φαίνονται, yet retains δοκῆς just below.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

with certain light armed troops or slingers. But now I intend to put on my heavy armour, and it is your shield that shall adorn me." "But," said Apollonius, "I think, my good Egyptian, that you will incur the censure of Thespesion and his society for two reasons; firstly, that after no further examination and testing of ourselves you have left them, and secondly that you give the preference to our manners and discipline with more precipitancy than is admissible where a man is making choice of how he shall live." "I agree with you," said the young man, "but if I am to blame for making this choice, I might also be to blame if I did not make it; and anyhow they will be most open to rebuke, if they make the same choice as myself. For it will be more justly reprehensible in them, as they are both older and wiser than myself, not to have made the choice long ago which I make now; for with all their advantages they will have failed to choose what in practice would so much redound to their advantage." "A very generous sentiment indeed, my good youth, is this which you have expressed," said Apollonius; "but beware lest the mere fact of their being so wise and aged should give them an appearance, at any rate, of being right in choosing as they have done, and of having good reason for rejecting my doctrine; and lest you should seem to take up a very bold position in setting them to rights rather than in following them." But the Egyptian turned short round upon Apollonius and countering his opinion said: "So far as it was right for a young man to agree with his elders, I have been careful to do so; for so long as I thought that these gentlemen were possessed of a

CHAP.

XVI

Nilus quits
the naked
Sages to join
Apollonius

CAP.
XVI

ἄνδρας, ἣν οὐκ ἄλλοις τιςὶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν, προσεποίησα ἑμαυτὸν τούτοις, πρόφασις δέ μοι τῆς ὀρμῆς ἦδε ἐγένετο· ἔπλευσέ ποτε ὁ πατήρ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐκὼν, ἦρχε δὲ ἄρα τῆς νεῶς, ἣν Αἰγύπτιοι στέλλουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, ἐπιμίξας δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Ἰνδοῖς διεκόμισε λόγους περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ σοφῶν ἀγχοῦ τούτων, οὓς πρὸς ἡμᾶς διῆλθες· ἀκούων δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοιουτονί τινα λόγον, ὡς σοφώτατοι μὲν ἀνθρώπων Ἰνδοί, ἄποικοι δὲ Ἰνδῶν Αἰθίοπες, πατρῴζουσι δὲ οὗτοι τὴν σοφίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι βλέπουσι, μειράκιον γενόμενος τὰ μὲν πατρῶα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀφήκα, γυμνὸς δὲ Γυμνοῖς ἐπεφοίτησα τούτοις, ὡς μαθησόμενος τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἢ ἀδελφά γε ἐκείνων, καὶ μοι ἐφαίνοντο σοφοὶ μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐκείνα, ἐμοῦ δ' αὐτοὺς ἐρομένου, τοῦ χάριν οὐ τὰ Ἰνδῶν φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐκείνων μὲν ἐς διαβολὰς κατέστησαν παραπλησίως ταῖς πρὸς σὲ εἰρημέναις τήμερον, ἐμὲ δὲ νέον ἔτι, ὡς ὀράς, ὄντα κατέλεξαν ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν κοινόν, δείσαντες, οἶμαι, μὴ ἀποπηδήσας αὐτῶν πλεύσαιμι ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθράν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ ὁ πατήρ, ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἂν παρήκα· προῆλθον γὰρ ἂν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ὄχθου τῶν σοφῶν, εἰ μὴ σέ τις ἐνταῦθα θεῶν ἔστειλεν ἐμοὶ ἄρωγόν, ὡς μήτε

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wisdom which belonged to no other set of men, I attached myself to them ; and the motive which actuated me to do so was the following : My father once made a voyage on his own initiative to the Red Sea, for he was, I may tell you, captain of the ship which the Egyptians send to the Indies. And after he had had intercourse with the Indians of the seaboard, he brought home stories of the wise men of that region, closely similar to those which you have told us. And his account which I heard was somewhat as follows, namely that the Indians are the wisest of mankind, but that the Ethiopians are colonists sent from India, who follow their forefathers in matters of wisdom, and fix their eyes on the institutions of their home. Well, I, having reached my teens, surrendered my patrimony to those who wanted it more than myself, and frequented the society of these naked sages, naked myself as they, in the hope of picking up the teaching of the Indians, or at any rate teaching allied to theirs. And they certainly appeared to me to be wise, though not after the manner of India ; but when I asked them point blank why they did not teach the philosophy of India, they plunged into abuse of the natives of that country very much as you have heard them do in their speeches this very day. Now I was still young, as you see, so they made me a member of their society, because I imagine they were afraid I might hastily quit them and undertake a voyage to the Red Sea, as my father did before me. And I should certainly have done so, yes, by Heaven, I would have pushed on until I reached the hill of the sages, unless some one of the gods had sent you hither to help me and enabled me without either

CHAP.
XVI

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVI τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν πλεύσας μήτε πρὸς τοὺς Κολπίτας παραβαλόμενος σοφίας Ἰνδικῆς γευσαίμην, οὐ τήμερον βίου ποιησόμενος αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν ἡρημένος, ἃ δὲ ᾧμην ἔξειν, οὐκ ἔχων. τί γὰρ δεινόν, εἰ ὅτουδὴ ἀμαρτῶν τις ἐπάνεισιν ἐφ' ὃ ἐθήρευεν; εἰ δὲ κακείνους ἐς τοῦτ' ἐμεταβιβάζοιμι καὶ γιγνοίμην αὐτοῖς ξύμβουλος ὧν ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα, τί ἄν, εἰπέ μοι, θρασὺ πράττοιμι; οὔτε γὰρ ἡ νεότης ἀπελατέα τοῦ τι καὶ αὐτὴ βέλτιον ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἂν τοῦ γήρως, σοφίας τε ὅστις ἐτέρῳ γίγνεται ξύμβουλος, ἢν αὐτὸς ἡρηται, διαφεύγει δῆπου τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἃ πέπεισται πείθειν, τοῖς τε ἡκουσιν ἀγαθοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὅστις ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὰ χρήται μόνος, ἀδικεῖ τὰγαθὰ, ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ πλείοσιν ἡδίῳ φαίνεσθαι."

XVII

CAP. XVII Τοιαῦτα εἶραντος τοῦ Νείλου καὶ οὕτω νεανικὰ ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὕπὲρ μισθοῦ δέ," εἶπεν, "οὐ διαλέξῃ μοι πρότερον σοφίας γε ἐρῶν τῆς ἐμῆς;" "διαλεγώμεθα," ἢ δ' ὁ Νεῖλος, "καὶ ὅ τι βούλει, αἴτει." "αἰτῶ σε," εἶπεν, "ἃ μὲν αὐτὸς εἶλον, ἡρῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Γυμνοὺς μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν ξυμβουλευόντα ἃ μὴ πείσεις." "πέισομαι," ἔφη,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

making any voyage over the Red Sea or adventuring to the inhabitants of the Gulf, to taste the wisdom of India. It is not to-day therefore for the first time that I shall make my choice, but I made it long ago, though I did not obtain what I hoped to obtain. For what is there to wonder at if a man who has missed what he was looking for, returns to the search? And if I should convert my friends yonder to this point of view, and persuade them to adopt the convictions which I have adopted myself, should I, tell me, be guilty of any hardihood? For you must not reject the claim that youth makes, that in some way it assimilates an idea more easily than old age; and anyone who counsels another to adopt the wisdom and teaching which he himself has chosen, anyhow escapes the imputation of trying to persuade others of things he does not believe himself. And anyone who takes the blessings bestowed upon him by fortune into a corner and there enjoys them by himself, violates their character as blessings, for he prevents their sweetness from being enjoyed by as many as possible."

CHAP.
XVI

XVII

WHEN Nilus had finished these arguments, and juvenile enough they were, Apollonius took him up and said: "If you are in love with my wisdom, had you not better, before I begin, discuss with me the question of my reward?" "Let us discuss it," answered Nilus, "and do you ask whatever you like." "I ask you," he said, "to be content with the choice you have made, and not to annoy the naked sages by giving them advice which they

CHAP.
XVII
Apollonius
prepares to
visit the
sources of
the Nile

CAP.
XVII

“καὶ ὁμολογείσθω ὁ μισθός.” ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐσπούδασαν, ἐρομένου δ’ αὐτὸν μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Νείλου, πόσου χρόνου διατρίψοι περὶ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς, “ὀπόσου,” ἔφη, “χρόνου ἀξία ἢ τῶνδε σοφία τῷ ξυνεσομένῳ σφίσιν, εἴτα ἐπὶ Καταδούπων τὴν ὁδὸν ποιησόμεθα τῶν πηγῶν ἔνεκα, χαρίεν γὰρ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἰδεῖν τὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κελαδοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἀκούσαι.”

XVIII

CAP.
XVIII

Ἦδε διαλεχθέντες καὶ τινων Ἰνδικῶν μνημονεύσαντες ἐκάθειδον ἐν τῇ πόρᾳ, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσευξάμενοι τὰ εἰωθότα εἶποντο τῷ Νείλῳ παρὰ τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα αὐτοὺς ἄγοντι· προσειπόντες οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ ξυνιζήσαντες ἐν τῷ ἄλσει διαλέξεως ἤπτοντο, ἦρχε δ’ αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος· “ὥς μὲν γὰρ πολλοῦ,” ἔφη, “ἄξιον τὸ μὴ κρύπτειν σοφίαν, δηλοῦσιν οἱ χθὲς λόγοι· διδασκαμένων γάρ με Ἰνδῶν, ὀπόσα τῆς ἐκείνων σοφίας ὄμην προσήκειν ἐμοί, μέμνημαί τε τῶν ἐμαντοῦ διδασκάλων καὶ περίειμι διδάσκων, ἃ ἐκείνων ἤκουσα, καὶ ὑμῖν δ’ ἂν ἐν κέρδει γενοίμην, εἴ με καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν σοφίαν εἰδότα πέμποιτε, οὐ γὰρ ἂν παυσαίμην” Ἑλλησί τε διῶν τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ Ἰνδοῖς γράφων.”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

will not take." "I consent," he said, "and let this be agreed upon as your reward." This then was the substance of their conversation, and when Nilus at its close asked him how long a time he would stay among the naked sages he replied: "So long as the quality of their wisdom justifies anyone in remaining in their company; and after that I shall take my way to the cataracts, in order to see the springs of the Nile, for it will be delightful not only to behold the sources of the Nile, but also to listen to the roar of its waterfalls."

CHAP.
XVII

XVIII

AFTER they had held this discussion and listened to some recollections of India, they lay down to sleep upon the grass; but at daybreak, having offered their accustomed prayers, they followed Nilus, who led them into the presence of Thespesion. They accordingly greeted one another, and sitting down together in the grove they began a conversation in which Apollonius led as follows: "How important it is," said he, "not to conceal wisdom, is proved by our conversation of yesterday; for because the Indians taught me as much of their wisdom as I thought it proper for me to know, I not only remember my teachers, but I go about instilling into others what I heard from them. And you too will be richly rewarded by me, if you send me away with a knowledge of your wisdom as well; for I shall not cease to go about and repeat your teachings to the Greeks, while to the Indians I shall write them."

CHAP.
XVIII

But first
discusses
with the
naked sages
the animal
gods of
Egypt.

“Ἐρώτα,” ἔφασαν, “ἔπεται γάρ που ἐρωτήσῃ λόγος.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “περὶ θεῶν,” εἶπεν, “ὕμᾱς ἐρήσομαι πρῶτον, τί μαθόντες ἄτοπα καὶ γελοῖα θεῶν εἶδη παραδεδώκατε τοῖς δεῦρο ἀνθρώποις πλὴν ὀλίγων· ὀλίγων γάρ; πάνυ μέντοι ὀλίγων, ἃ σοφῶς καὶ θεοειδῶς ἴδρυται, τὰ λοιπὰ δ’ ὑμῶν ἱερὰ ζώων ἀλόγων καὶ ἀδόξων τιμαὶ μᾶλλον ἢ θεῶν φαίνονται.” δυσχεράνας δὲ ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “τὰ δὲ παρ’ ὑμῖν,” εἶπεν, “ἀγάλματα πῶς ἰδρῦσθαι φήσεις;” “ὥς γε,” ἔφη, “κάλλιστόν τε καὶ θεοφιλέστατον δημιουργεῖν θεούς.” “τὸν Δία που λέγεις,” εἶπε, “τὸν ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔδος καὶ τὸ τῆς Κνιδίας τε καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ ὅποσα ὧδε καλὰ καὶ μεστὰ ὥρας.” “οὐ μόνον,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπαξ τὴν μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαλματοποιίαν ἄπτεσθαί φημι τοῦ προσήκοντος, ὑμᾱς δὲ καταγελᾶν τοῦ θείου μᾶλλον ἢ νομίζειν αὐτό.” “οἱ Φειδίαί δέ,” εἶπε, “καὶ οἱ Πραξιτέλεις μὲν ἀνελθόντες ἐς οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀπομαζάμενοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἶδη τέχνην αὐτὰ ἐποιοῦντο, ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἦν, ὃ ἐφίστη αὐτοὺς τῷ πλάττειν;” “ἕτερον,” ἔφη,

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“Ask,” they said, “for you know question comes first and argument follows on it.” And Apollonius said: “It is about the gods that I would like to ask you a question first, namely, what induced you to impart, as your tradition, to the people of this country forms of the gods that are absurd and grotesque in all but a few cases? In a few cases, do I say? I would rather say that in very few are the gods’ images fashioned in a wise and god-like manner, for the mass of your shrines seem to have been erected in honour rather of irrational and ignoble animals than of gods.” Thespesion, resenting these remarks, said: “And your own images in Greece, how are they fashioned?” “In the way,” he replied, “in which it is best and most reverent to construct images of the gods.” “I suppose you allude,” said the other, “to the statue of Zeus in Olympia, and to the image of Athena and to that of the Cnidian goddess and to that of the Argive goddess and to other images equally beautiful and full of charm.” “Not only to these,” replied Apollonius, “but without exception I maintain, that whereas in other lands statuary has scrupulously observed decency and fitness, you rather make ridicule of the gods than really believe in them.” “Your artists, then, like Phidias,” said the other, “and like Praxiteles, went up, I suppose, to heaven and took a copy of the forms of the gods, and then reproduced these by their art, or was there any other influence which presided over and guided their moulding?” “There was,” said Apollonius, “and

CHAP.
XIX
Apollonius
attacks the
brutish gods
of Egypt

“καὶ μεστόν γε σοφίας πρᾶγμα.” “ποῖον;” εἶπεν, “οὐ γὰρ ἂν τι παρὰ τὴν μίμησιν εἴποις.” “φαντασία,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, σοφωτέρα μίμησης δημιουργός· μίμησις μὲν γὰρ δημιουργήσει, ὃ εἶδεν, φαντασία δὲ καὶ ὃ μὴ εἶδεν, ὑποθήσεται γὰρ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ ὄντος, καὶ μίμησιν μὲν πολλάκις ἐκκρούει ἐκπληξεις, φαντασίαν δὲ οὐδέν, χωρεῖ γὰρ ἀνέκπληκτος πρὸς ὃ αὐτὴ ὑπέθετο. δεῖ δέ που Διὸς μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντα εἶδος ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν ξὺν οὐρανῷ καὶ ὥραις καὶ ἄστροις, ὥσπερ ὁ Φειδίας τότε ὥρμησεν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ δημιουργήσειν μέλλοντα στρατόπεδα ἐννοεῖν καὶ μῆτιν καὶ τέχνας καὶ ὡς Διὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέθορεν. εἰ δὲ ἱέρακα ἢ γλαῦκα ἢ λύκον ἢ κύνα ἐργασάμενος ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ φέροις ἀντὶ Ἑρμοῦ τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὰ μὲν θηρία καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα ζηλωτὰ δόξει τῶν εἰκόνων, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παραπολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν δόξης ἐστήξουσιν.” “ἔοικας,” εἶπεν, “ἀβασανίστως ἐξετάζειν τὰ ἡμέτερα· σοφὸν γάρ, εἴπερ τι Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ τὸ μὴ θρασύνεσθαι ἐς τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἶδη, ξυμβολικὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπονοούμενα, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ σεμνότερα οὕτω φαίνοιτο.” γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὦ ἄνθρωποι,” ἔφη, “μεγάλα ὑμῖν ἀπολέλανται τῆς Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν σοφίας, εἰ σεμνότερον ὑμῶν καὶ θεοειδέστερον κύνων δόξει καὶ ἱβις καὶ τράγος, ταῦτα γὰρ Θεσπεσίωνος ἀκούω τοῦ σοφοῦ. σεμνὸν δὲ δὴ ἢ ἔμφοβον

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

an influence pregnant with wisdom and genius." CHAP.
"What was that?" said the other, "for I do not XIX
think you can adduce any except imitation." "Imagination," said Apollonius, "wrought these works, a wiser and subtler artist by far than imitation; for imitation can only create as its handiwork what it has seen, but imagination equally what it has not seen; for it will conceive of its ideal with reference to the reality, and imitation is often baffled by terror, but imagination by nothing; for it marches undismayed to the goal which it has itself laid down. When you entertain a notion of Zeus you must, I suppose, envisage him along with heaven and seasons and stars, as Phidias in his day endeavoured to do, and if you would fashion an image of Athene you must image in your mind armies and cunning, and handicrafts, and how she leapt out of Zeus himself. But if you make a hawk or an owl or a wolf or a dog, and put it in your temples instead of Hermes or Athene or Apollo, your animals and your birds may be esteemed and of much price as likenesses, but the gods will be very much lowered in their dignity." "I think," said the other, "that you criticise our religion very superficially; for if the Egyptians have any wisdom, they show it by their deep respect and reverence in the representation of the gods, and by the circumstance that they fashion their forms as symbols of a profound inner meaning, so as to enhance their solemnity and august character." Apollonius thereon merely laughed and said: "My good friends, you have indeed greatly profited by the wisdom of Egypt and Ethiopia, if your dog and your ibis and your goat seem particularly august and god-like, for this is what I learn from Thespesion the sage."

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XIX

τί ἐν τούτοις ; τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιόρκους καὶ τοὺς ἱεροσύν-
λους καὶ τὰ βωμολόχα ἔθνη καταφρονεῖν τῶν τοι-
ούτων ἱερῶν εἰκὸς μᾶλλον ἢ δεδιέναι αὐτά, εἰ δὲ
σεμνότερα ταῦτα ὑπονοούμενα, πολλῷ σεμνότερον
ἂν ἔπραττον οἱ θεοὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, εἰ μὴ ἴδρυτό τι
αὐτῶν ἄγαλμα, ἀλλ' ἕτερον τρόπον σοφώτερόν τε
καὶ ἀπορρητότερον τῇ θεολογίᾳ ἐχρήσθε· ἦν γάρ
που νεὼς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐξοικοδομῆσαι καὶ βωμοὺς
ὀρίζειν καὶ ἅ χρὴ θύειν καὶ ἅ μὴ χρὴ καὶ ὀπηνίκα
καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ ὅ τι λέγοντας ἢ δρῶντας, ἄγαλμα
δὲ μὴ ἐσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ εἶδη τῶν θεῶν καταλείπειν
τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσφοιτῶσιν, ἀναγράφει γάρ τι ἡ
γνώμη καὶ ἀνατυποῦται δημιουργίας κρεῖττον,
ὕμεις δὲ ἀφήρησθε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὸ ὁρᾶσθαι
καλῶς καὶ τὸ ὑπονοεῖσθαι.” πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπε-
σίων, “ἐγένετό τις,” ἔφη, “Σωκράτης Ἀθηναῖος
ἀνόητος, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, γέρων, ὃς τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν
χῆνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον θεοὺς τε ἡγείτο καὶ ὤμνυ.”
“οὐκ ἀνόητος,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ θεῖος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς
σοφός, ὤμνυ γὰρ ταῦτα οὐχ ὥς θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἵνα
μὴ θεοὺς ὀμνύοι.”

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CAP.
XX

Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπεσίων ὥσπερ μεθιστάμενος
τουτουὶ τοῦ λόγου, ἤρετο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον περὶ
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But what is there that is august or awe-inspiring in these images? Is it not likely that perjurers and temple-thieves and all the rabble of low jesters will despise such holy objects rather than dread them; and if they are to be held august for the hidden meanings which they convey, surely the gods in Egypt would have met with much greater reverence, if no images of them had ever been set up at all, and if you had planned your theology along other lines wiser and more mysterious. For I imagine you might have built temples for them, and have fixed the altars and laid down rules about what to sacrifice and what not, and when and on what scale, and with what liturgies and rites, without introducing any image at all, but leaving it to those who frequented the temples to imagine the images of the gods; for the mind can more or less delineate and figure them to itself better than can any artist; but you have denied to the gods the privilege of beauty both of the outer eye and of inner suggestion." Thespesion replied and said: "There was a certain Athenian, called Socrates, a foolish old man like ourselves, who thought that the dog and the goose and the plane tree were gods and used to swear by them." "He was not foolish," said Apollonius, "but a divine and unfeignedly wise man; for he did not swear by these objects on the understanding that they were gods, but to save himself from swearing by the gods."

CHAP.
XIX

XX

THEREUPON Thespesion as if anxious to drop this subject, put some questions to Apollonius, about the

CHAP.
XX

CAP. XX. τῆς Λακωνικῆς μάστιγος καὶ εἰ δημοσία οἱ Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι παίονται. “τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε,” εἶπεν,
 “ὦ Θεσπεσίων, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐλευθέριοι τε
 καὶ εὐδόκιμοι.” “τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας ἀδικούντας τί,”
 ἔφη, “ἐργάζονται;” “οὐκέτ’ ἀποκτείνουσιν,” εἶπεν,
 “ὥς ξυνεχῶρει ποτὲ ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἀλλ’ ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ
 ἐπ’ ἐκείνους μάστιξ.” “ἡ δὲ Ἑλλάς πῶς,” ἔφη,
 “περὶ αὐτῶν γιγνώσκει;” “ξυνίασιν,” εἶπεν,
 “ὥσπερ ἐς τὰ Ῥακίνθια καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδιάς,
 θεασόμενοι ξὺν ἡδονῇ τε ὀρμῇ πάσῃ.” “εἰτ’ οὐκ
 αἰσχύνονται,” ἔφη, “οἱ χρηστοὶ Ἑλληνες ἢ τοὺς
 αὐτῶν ποτε ἄρξαντας ὀρώντες μαστιγουμένους ἐς
 τὸ κοινόν, ἢ ἀρχθέντες ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μαστι-
 γοῦνται δημοσία; σὺ δὲ πῶς οὐ διωρθώσω ταῦτα;
 φασὶ γάρ σε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιμεληθῆναι.”
 “ἂ γε,” εἶπε, “δυνατὸν διορθοῦσθαι ξυνεβού-
 λευον μὲν ἐγώ, προθύμως δ’ ἐκείνοι ἐπραττον,
 ἐλευθεριώτατοι μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰσὶ,
 μόνου¹ δ’ ὑπήκοοι τοῦ εὖ συμβουλευόντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν
 μαστίγων ἔθος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν δρᾶται,
 χρησμῶν, φασιν, ἐξηγουμένων ταῦτα θεοῖς δ’
 ἀντινομεῖν μανία, οἶμαι.” “οὐ σοφούς, Ἀπολ-
 λώνιε,” ἔφη, “τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς εἴρηκας,
 εἰ μαστίγων ἐγίγνοντο ξύμβουλοι τοῖς τὴν ἐλευ-
 θερίαν ἀσκοῦσιν.” “οὐ μαστίγων,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλὰ
 τοῦ αἵματι ἀνθρώπων τὸν βωμὸν ραίνειν, ἐπειδὴ

¹ I conjecture *μόνου* for *μόνοι*.

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scourging in Sparta, and asked if the Lacedaemonians were smitten with rods in public. "Yes," answered the other, "as hard, O Thespesion, as men can smite them; and it is especially men of noble and distinguished birth among them that are so treated." "Then what do they do to menials," he asked, "when they do wrong?" "They do not kill them nowadays," said Apollonius, "as Lycurgus formerly allowed, but the same whip is used to them too." "And what judgment does Hellas pass upon the matter?" "They flock," he answered, "to see the spectacle with pleasure and utmost enthusiasm, as if to the festival of Hyacinthus, or to that of the naked boys." "Then these excellent Hellenes are not ashamed, either to behold those publicly whipped who erewhile governed them or to reflect that they were governed by men who are whipped before the eyes of all? And how is it that you did not reform this abuse? For they say that you interested yourself in the affairs of the Lacedaemonians, as of other people." "So far as anything could be reformed, I gave them my advice, and they readily adopted it; for they are the freest of the Hellenes; but at the same time they will only listen to one who gives them good advice. Now the custom of scourging is a ceremony in honour of the Scythian Artemis, so they say, and was prescribed by oracles, and to oppose the regulations of the gods is in my opinion utter madness." "'Tis a poor wisdom, Apollonius," he replied, "which you attribute to the gods of the Hellenes, if they countenance scourging as a part of the discipline of freedom." "It's not the scourging," he said, "but the sprinkling of the altar with human blood that is important, for the Scythians too held

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The ritual
scourging
of Spartan
boys

CAP.
XX. καὶ παρὰ Σκύθαις τούτων ἡξιούτο, σοφισάμενοι
δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀπαραίτητον τῆς θυσίας
ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς καρτερίας ἀγῶνα ἤκουσιν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐστι
μήτε ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ τοῦ
σφῶν αἵματος." "διὰ τί οὖν," ἔφη, "τοὺς ξένους
οὐ καταθύουσιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, καθάπερ ἐδικαίουν
ποτὲ οἱ Σκύθαι ; " "ὅτι," εἶπεν, "οὐδενὶ Ἑλλήνων
πρὸς τρόπου βάρβαρα ἐξασκεῖν ἤθη." "καὶ μὴν καὶ
φιλανθρωπότεροι ἐδόκουν ἂν ἓνα που καὶ δύο
θύοντες ἢ ξενηλασία χρώμενοι ἐς πάντας."

"Μὴ καθαπτώμεθα," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσπεσίων, τοῦ
Λυκούργου, χρὴ γὰρ ξυνιέναι τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι τὸ
μὴ ἐνδιατρίβειν ἔαν τοὺς ξένους οὐκ ἀμιξίας αὐτῷ
νοῦν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις
μὴ ἐνομιλούντων τῇ Σπάρτῃ τῶν ἔξωθεν." "ἐγὼ
δὲ ἄνδρας," ἔφη, "Σπαρτιάτας ἡγούμεν ἄν, οἷοι
δοκεῖν ἀξιούσιν, εἰ συνδιαιτώμενοι τοῖς ξένοις μὴ
μεθίσταντο τῶν οἴκοι, οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀπόντων, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῷ παρόντων ὁμοίους ὁρᾶσθαι ἔδει, οἶμαι, τὰς
ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι. οἱ δὲ καίτοι ξενηλασίαις χρώ-
μενοι, διεφθάρησαν τὰς ἐπιτηδεύσεις, καὶ οἷς μά-
λιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπήχθοντο, τούτοις ὅμοια
πράττειν ἔδοξαν. τὰ γοῦν περὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ

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the altar to be worthy thereof; but the Lacedæ-
monians modified the ceremony of sacrifice because
of its implacable cruelty, and turned it into a contest
of endurance, undergone without any loss of life, and
yet securing to the goddess as first fruits an offering of
their own blood." "Why then," said the other, "do
they not sacrifice strangers right out to Artemis, as
the Scythians formerly considered it right to do?"
"Because," he answered, "it is not congenial to any
of the Greeks to adopt in their full rigour the
manners and customs of barbarians." "And yet,"
said the other, "it seems to me that it would be
more humane to sacrifice one or two of them than to
enforce as they do a policy of exclusion against all
foreigners."

"Let us not assail," said the other, "O Thes-
pesion, the law-giver Lycurgus; but we must under-
stand him, and then we shall see that his prohibition
to strangers to settle in Sparta and live there was
not inspired on his part by mere boorish exclusive-
ness, but by a desire to keep the institutions of
Sparta in their original purity by preventing out-
siders from mingling in her life." "Well," said
the other, "I should allow the men of Sparta
to be what they claim to be, if they had ever lived
with strangers, and yet had faithfully adhered
to their home principles; for it was not by keeping
true to themselves in the absence of strangers,
but by doing so in spite of their presence, that
they needed to show their superiority. But they,
although they enforced this policy of excluding
strangers, corrupted their institutions, and were
found doing exactly the same as did those of the
Greeks whom they most detested. Anyhow, their

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αἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτάξεις τῶν φόρων ἀττικώτερον αὐτοῖς ἐβουλευθή, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν πολεμητέα πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ᾤοντο αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ταῦτ' ἐς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ δρᾶν κατέστησαν, τὰ μὲν πολέμια τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νικῶντες, ὧν δὲ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδεύειν ἔδοξεν ἡττώμενοι. καὶ αὐτὸ τὴν ἐκ Ταύρων τε καὶ Σκυθῶν ἐσάγεσθαι δαίμονα, ξένα ἦν νομίζοντων. εἰ δὲ χρησμῶν ταῦτα, τί ἔδει μάλιστα; τί δὲ καρτερίαν ἀνδραποδώδη πλάττεσθαι; λακωνικώτερον πρὸς θανάτου ῥώμην ἐκείνο ἦν, οἶμαι, Σπαρτιάτην ἔφηβον ἐκόντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ θύεσθαι. τουτὶ γὰρ ἂν τὴν μὲν Σπάρτην εὐψυχοτέρους ἐδείκνυε, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα ἀπῆγε τοῦ μὴ ἐς ἀντίπαλα αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθίστασθαι. εἰ δὲ ἐς τὰ πολέμια φείδεσθαι τῶν νέων εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὃ γε νόμος ὁ παρὰ Σκύθαις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξηκοντούταις κείμενος οἰκειότερος ἦν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτηδεύειν ἢ Σκύθαις, εἰ τὸν θάνατον ἀτεχνῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ κόμπου ἔνεκα ἐπαινοῦσι. ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰρηταί μοι, πρὸς δὲ σέ, Ἀπολλώνιε· εἰ γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰ νόμιμα καὶ πολιώτερα ἢ γινώσκειν αὐτὰ πικρῶς ἐξετάζοιμεν ἐς ἔλεγχον καθιστάμενοι τοῦ θείου, διότι αὐτοῖς χαίρουσι, πολλοὶ καὶ ἄτοποι λόγοι τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοσοφίας ἀναφύ-

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subsequent naval programme and policy of imposing tribute was modelled entirely upon that of Athens, and they themselves ended by committing acts which they had themselves regarded as a just *casus belli* against the Athenians, whom they had no sooner beaten in the field than they humbly adopted, as if they were the beaten party, their pet institution. And the very fact that the goddess was introduced from Taurus and Scythia was the action of men who embraced alien customs. But if an oracle prescribed this, what want was there of a scourge? What need to feign an endurance only fit for slaves? Had they wanted to prove the disdain that Lacedaemonians felt for death, they had I think done better to sacrifice a youth of Sparta with his own consent upon the altar. For this would have been a real proof of the superior courage of the Spartans, and would have disinclined Hellas from ranging herself in the opposite camp to them. But you will say that they had to save their young men for the battlefield; well, in that case the law which prevails among the Scythians, and sentences all men of sixty years of age to death, would have been more suitably introduced and followed among the Lacedaemonians than among the Scythians, supposing that they embrace death in its grim reality and not as a mere parade. These remarks of mine are directed not so much against the Lacedaemonians, as against yourself, O Apollonius. For if ancient institutions, whose hoary age defies our understanding of their origins, are to be examined in an unsympathetic spirit, and the reason why they are pleasing to heaven subjected to cold criticism, such a line of speculation will produce a crop of odd conclusions;

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FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XX. σουνται, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τῆς Ἑλευσίνι τελετῆς ἐπι-
λαβοίμεθα, διότι τό, ἀλλὰ μὴ τό, καὶ ὦν Σαμό-
θρακες τελοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὸ δεῖνα, τὸ δεῖνα δὲ αὐτοῖς
δρᾶται, καὶ Διονυσίων καὶ φάλλου καὶ τοῦ ἐν
Κυλλήνῃ εἶδους, καὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν συκοφαν-
τοῦντες πάντα. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐφ' ὃ τι βούλει ἕτερον,
τιμῶντες καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόρου λόγον ἡμεδαπὸν
ὄντα· καλὸν γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ περὶ πάντων, ἀλλ'
ὑπὲρ γε τῶν τοιούτων σιωπᾶν.” ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ
Ἀπολλώνιος, “εἰ σπουδάσαι,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Θεσ-
πεσίων, ἐβούλου τὸν λόγον, πολλὰ ἂν σοι καὶ
γενναῖα ἔδοξεν ἢ Λακεδαίμων λέγειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑγιῶς
τε καὶ παρὰ πάντας ἐπιτηδεύει τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἀποσπουδάξεις αὐτόν, ὥς μηδὲ ὅσιον
ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων λέγειν, ἴωμεν ἐφ'
ἕτερον λόγον πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ὥς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω·
περὶ δικαιοσύνης γάρ τι ἐρήσομαι.”

XXI

CAP.
XXI. “Ἀπτώμεθα,” ὁ Θεσπεσίων ἔφη, “τοῦ λόγου,
προσθήκων γὰρ σοφοῖς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοῖς. ἀλλ' ἵνα
μὴ τὰς Ἰνδῶν δόξας ἐνείροντες ξυγχέωμεν αὐτὸν
καὶ ἀπέλθωμεν ἄπρακτοι τοῦ λόγου, πρῶτον εἰπὲ
τὰ περὶ δικαιοσύνης Ἰνδοῖς δόξαντα, εἰκὸς γὰρ

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for we could attack the mystery rite of Eleusis in the same way and ask, why it is this and not that ; and the same with the rites of the Samothracians, for in their ritual they avoid one thing and insist on another ; and the same with the Dionysiac ceremonies and the phallic symbol, and the figure erected in Cyllene, and before we know where we are we shall be picking holes in everything. Let us choose, therefore, any other topic you like, but respect the sentiment of Pythagoras, which is also our own ; for it is better, if we can't hold our tongues about everything, at any rate to preserve silence about such matters as these." Apollonius replied and said, " If, O Thespesion, you had wished to discuss the topic seriously, you would have found that the Lacedaemonians have many excellent arguments to advance in favour of their institutions, proving that they are sound and superior to those of other Hellenes ; but since you are so averse to continue the discussion, and even regard it as impious to talk about such things, let us proceed to another subject, of great importance, as I am convinced, for it is about justice that I shall now put a question."

XXI

" LET us," said Thespesion, " tackle the subject ; for it is one very suitable to men, whether they are wise or not wise. But lest we should drag in the opinions of Indians, and so confuse our discussion, and go off without having formed any conclusions, do you first impart to us the views held by the Indians concerning justice, for you probably examined

CHAP.
XX

CHAP.
XXI
And the
problem of
the nature
of justice
in general

βεβασανίσθαι σοι ἐκεῖ ταῦτα, καὶ μὲν ἡ δόξα ὀρθῶς ἔχῃ, ξυνθησόμεθα, εἰ δ' αὐτοί τι σοφώτερον εἴποιμεν, ξυντίθεσθε, δικαιοσύνης γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο.”

“ ἄριστα,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ Θεσπεσίων, καὶ ὥς ἐμοὶ ἡδιστα εἶρηκας· ἄκουε δὴ τῶν ἐκεῖ σπουδασθέντων. διήειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγώ, κυβερνήτης ὥς γενοίμην μεγάλης νεώς, ὁπόθ' ἡ ψυχὴ σώματος ἐτέρου ἐπεμέλετο, καὶ δικαιοτάτου ἡγοίμην ἐμαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ ληστὰι μὲν ἐμισθοῦντό με προδοῦναι τὴν ναῦν καθορμίσάμενον οἱ λοχῆσείν αὐτὴν ἔμελλον, δι' ἃ ἦγεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαγγεिलाίμην μὲν ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ ἐπίθωιντο ἡμῖν, παραπλεύσαιμι δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπεράραϊμι τοῦ χωρίου.” “ ξυνέθεντο δ',” ἡ δ' ὁ Θεσπεσίων, “ δικαιοσύνην εἶναι Ἰνδοὶ ταῦτα ;” “ κατεγέλασαν μὲν οὖν,” εἶπε, “ μὴ γὰρ εἶναι δικαιοσύνην τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν.” “ ὕγιως,” ἔφη, “ ἀπέδοξε τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, οὔτε γὰρ φρόνησις τὸ μὴ ἀνοήτως τι ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, οὔτε ἀνδρεία τὸ μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν, οὔτε σωφροσύνη τὸ μὴ ἐς τὰ τῶν μοιχῶν ἐκπίπτειν, οὔτε ἄξιον ἐπαίνου τὸ μὴ κακὸν φαίνεσθαι· πᾶν γάρ, ὃ τιμῆς τε καὶ τιμωρίας ἴσον ἀφέστηκεν, οὔπω ἀρετή.” “ πῶς οὖν, ὦ Θεσπεσίων,” εἶπε, “ στεφανώσομεν τὸν δίκαιον, ἢ τί πράττοντα ;” “ ἀνελλιπέστερον,” ἔφη, “ καὶ προσφορώτερον ἂν ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἐσπουδάσατε, ἢ ὅποτε βασιλεὺς τοσῆσδ' ἐγὼ τε καὶ

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their views on the spot; and if their opinion is proved to be correct we will adopt it; but if we have something wiser to put in its place, you must adopt our view, for that too is plain justice." Said Apollonius: "Your plan is excellent and most satisfactory to me; so do you listen to the conversation which I held there. For I related to them how I had once been the captain of a large ship, in the period when my soul was in command of another body, and how I thought myself extremely just because, when robbers offered me a reward, if I would betray my ship by running it into roads where they were going to lie in wait for it, in order to seize the cargo, I agreed and made the promise, just to save them from attacking us, but intending to slip by them and get beyond the place agreed upon." "And," said Thespesion, "did the Indians agree that this was justice?" "No, they laughed at the idea," he replied, "for they said that justice was something more than not being unjust." "It was very sensible," said the other, "of the Indians to reject such a view; for good sense is something more than not entertaining nonsense, just as courage is something more than not running away from the ranks; and so temperance is something more than the avoidance of adultery, and no one reserves his praise for a man who has simply shown himself to be not bad. For because a thing, no matter what, is equi-distant between praise and punishment, it is not on that account to be reckoned off-hand to be virtue." "How then, O Thespesion," said Apollonius, "are we to crown the just man and for what actions?" "Could you have discussed justice more completely and more opportunely," said the other, "than when

CHAP.
XXI

οὕτως εὐδαίμονος χώρας ἄρχων ἐπέστη φιλοσοφοῦσιν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλεύειν, δικαιοτάτου κτήματος ;” “εἰ ὁ Φραώτης,” εἶπεν, “ὁ ἀφικόμενος ἦν, ὀρθῶς ἂν ἐμέμφου τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν οἷς χθὲς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διῆειν μεθύοντα καὶ ἀχθόμενον φιλοσοφία πάσῃ, τί ἔδει παρέχειν ὄχλον ; τί δ’ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν φιλοτιμουμένους ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπου σύβαριν ἡγουμένου πάντα ; ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ ἡμῖν, ἰχνευτέα ἢ δικαιοσύνη μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλευσὶ τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς, ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀτεχνῶς δίκαιον. ὃ γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν τε ἡγούμην, ὁπότε ἢ ναῦς, ἑτέρους τε, οἱ μὴ ἀδίκων ἅπτονται, οὐπω δικάιους φατέ, οὐδ’ ἀξίους τιμᾶσθαι.” “καὶ εἰκότως,” εἶπεν, “οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγράφη γνώμη τὸν δεῖνα στεφανοῦν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν ἡταιρηκότων ἐστίν, ἢ τὸν δεῖνα ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ συλᾶται. τίς οὖν ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ὁ τί πράττων ; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τινὰ στεφανωθέντα οἶδα, οὐδὲ γνώμην ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ γραφεῖσαν, ὥς τὸν δεῖνα χρὴ στεφανοῦν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεῖνα πράττων δίκαιος φαίνεται, τὰ μὲν γὰρ Παλαμήδους ἐνθυμηθέντι τὰ ἐν Τροίᾳ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους τὰ Ἀθήνησιν οὐδ’ εὐτυχεῖν ἢ δικαιοσύνη δόξει παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀδικώτατα

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the sovereign of so large and so flourishing a country CHAP.
XXI
intervened in your philosophic discussion of the art of kingship, a thing intimately connected with justice?"

"If it had been Phraotes," said Apollonius, "who turned up on that occasion, you might rightly blame me for not gravely discussing the subject of justice in his presence. But you know from the account which I gave of him yesterday that the man is a drunkard and an enemy of all philosophy. What need therefore was there to inflict on him the trouble? Why should we try to win credit for ourselves in the presence of a sybarite who thinks of nothing but his own pleasures? But inasmuch as it is incumbent upon wise men like ourselves to explore and trace out justice, more so than on kings and generals, let us proceed to examine the absolutely just man. For though I thought myself just in the affair of the ship, and thought others just too, because they do not practise injustice, you deny that this in itself constitutes them just or worthy of honour." "And rightly so," said the other, "for whoever heard of a decree being drafted by Athenians or Lacedaemonians in favour of crowning so and so, because he is not a libertine, or of granting the freedom of the city to so and so, because the temples have not been robbed by him? Who then is the just man and what are his actions? For neither did I ever hear of anyone being crowned merely for his justice, nor of a decree being proposed over a just man to the effect that so and so shall be crowned, because such and such actions of his show him to be just. For anyone who considers the fate of Palamedes in Troy or of Socrates in Athens, will discover that even justice is not sure of success

γὰρ δὴ οἶδε ἔπαθον, δικαιοτάτοι ὄντες. πλὴν ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ δόξῃ ἀδικημάτων ἀπώλοντο, ψήφου παρὰ τὸ εὐθὺ ἐνεχθείσης, Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν Λυσιμάχου καὶ αὐτὴ ποτε ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀπώλλυ, καὶ ἀνὴρ τοιόσδε ἐπὶ τοιαύδε ἀρετῇ φεύγων ὥχετο. καὶ ὥς μὲν γελοία ἡ δικαιοσύνη δόξει, γιγνώσκω, τεταγμένη γὰρ ὑπὸ Διὸς τε καὶ Μοιρῶν ἐς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐδαμοῦ ἑαυτὴν ἐς τὸ μὴ αὐτὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τάττει.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπόχρη τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐς τὸ δηλῶσαι, τίς μὲν ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, τίς δὲ ὁ δίκαιος· εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, οὐχ οὗτος, Ἀριστείδης ἐκεῖνος, ὃν φατε ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἤκουτες πλεῦσαντα ἐς τὰς νήσους ὑπὲρ τῶν φόρων, ξυμμέτρους τε αὐτοὺς τάξαι καὶ ξὺν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπανελθεῖν τρίβωνι;” “οὗτος,” εἶπε, “δι’ ὃν καὶ πενίας ἔρως ποτὲ ἦνθησεν.” “εἰ οὖν,” ἔφη, “δύο Ἀθήνησι δημαγωγοὶ γενοίσθην ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος ἤκοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν γράφοι στεφανοῦν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πλουτῶν ἀφίκται μηδὲ βίον ἑαυτῷ ξυνειλοχῶς μηδένα, ἀλλὰ πενέστατος μὲν Ἀθηναίων, πενέστερος δὲ ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ δ’ αὖ τοιουτονί τι γράφοι ψήφισμα· ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστείδης οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸ δυνατόν τῶν ξυμμάχων τάξας

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among men, for assuredly these men suffered most unjustly being themselves most just. Still they at least were put to death on the score of acts of injustice imputed to them, and the verdict was a distortion of the truth; whereas in the case of Aristides the son of Lysimachus, it was very justice that was the undoing of him, for he in spite of his integrity was banished merely because of his reputation for this very virtue. And I am sure that justice will appear in a very ridiculous light; for having been appointed by Zeus and by the Fates to prevent men being unjust to one another, she has never been able to defend herself against injustice.

CHAP.
XXI
The fate of
Aristides

And the history of Aristides is sufficient to me to show the difference between one who is not unjust and one who is really just. For, tell me, is not this the same Aristides of whom your Hellenic compatriots when they come here tell us that he undertook a voyage to the islands to fix the tribute of the allies, and after settling it on a fair basis, returned again to his country still wearing the same cloak in which he left it?" "It is he," answered Apollonius, "who made the love of poverty once to flourish." "Now," said the other, "let us suppose that there were at Athens two public orators passing an encomium upon Aristides, just after he had returned from the allies; one of them proposes that he shall be crowned, because he has come back again without enriching himself or amassing any fortune, but the poorest of the Athenians, poorer than he was before; and the other orator, we will suppose, drafts his motion somewhat as follows: 'Whereas Aristides has fixed the tribute of the allies according

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXI

τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστοι γῆς ἔχουσι, τῆς τε ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν ἐπεμελήθη τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀχθομένους δοκεῖν φέρειν ταῦτα, δεδόχθω στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἅρ' οὐκ ἂν σοι δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀντειπεῖν αὐτός, ὥς οὐκ ἀξία τῶν ἑαυτῷ βεβιωμένων, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ τιμῶτο, τὴν δ' ἴσως ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαινέσαι, στοχαζομένην ὧν διενόηθη; βλέψας γάρ που ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ξυμφέρον ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ξυμμετρίας τῶν φόρων, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐδείχθη μάλλον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παραβάντες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐκείνῳ δόξαντας, βαρυτέρους ἐπέγραψαν ταῖς νήσοις, διεσπάρσθη μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ναυτικὴ δύναμις, ἣ μάλιστα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν, παρῆλθε δὲ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, ξυνέμεινε δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἅπαν τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐς νεώτερα ὥρμησε καὶ ἀποστροφῆς ἤψατο. δίκαιος οὖν, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ τὸν εὐθὺν λόγον οὐχ ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, ἀλλ' ὁ δίκαια μὲν αὐτὸς πράττων, καθιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, καὶ φύσσονται τῆς τοιαύτης δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἄλλαι μὲν ἀρεταί, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ δικαστικὴ τε καὶ ἡ νομοθετικὴ. δικάσει μὲν γὰρ τοιόσδε πολλῷ δικαιοτέρον ἢ οἱ κατὰ τῶν τομίῶν ὀμνύντες, νομοθετήσῃ δέ, ὥσπερ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

to their ability to pay, and not in excess of the resources of their respective countries; and where-
as he has endeavoured to keep them loyal to the Athenians, and to see that they shall feel it no grievance to pay upon this scale, it is hereby resolved to crown him for justice.' Do you not suppose that Aristides would himself have opposed the first of these resolutions, as an indignity to his entire life, seeing that it only honoured him for not doing injustice; whereas, he might perhaps have supported the other resolution as a fair attempt to express his intentions and policy? For I imagine it was with an eye to the interest of Athenians and subject states alike, that he took care to fix the tribute on a fair and moderate basis, and in fact his wisdom in this matter was conclusively proved after his death. For when the Athenians exceeded his valuations and imposed heavier tributes upon the islands, their naval supremacy at once went to pieces, though it more than anything else had made them formidable; on the other hand the prowess of the Lacedaemonians passed on to the sea itself; and nothing was left of Athenian supremacy, for the whole of the subject states rushed into revolution and made good their escape. It follows then, O Apollonius, that rightly judged, it is not the man who abstains from injustice that is just, but the man who himself does what is just, and also influences others not to be unjust; and from such justice as his there will spring up a crop of other virtues, especially those of the law-court and of the legislative chamber. For such a man as he will make a much fairer judge than people who take their oaths upon the dissected parts of victims, and his

CHAP
XXI

PLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. οἱ Σόλωνές τε καὶ οἱ Λυκοῦργοι, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ κεῖ-
XXI νοις τοῦ γράψαι νόμους δικαιοσύνη ἤρξεν.”

XXII

CAP. Τοσαῦτα ὁ Δάμις διαλεχθῆναί φησιν αὐτοὺς
XXII ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμφῆ-
σαι τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς γὰρ ὑγιῶς λεγομένοις ξυμβαί-
νειν. φιλοσοφῆσαντες δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς, ὥς
ἀθάνατος εἴη, καὶ περὶ φύσεως παραπλήσια ταῖς
Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαίῳ δόξαις, περί τε τῶν παρ’
Ἑλλησι νόμων πλείῳ διαλεχθέντες, “ἐμοί,” εἶπεν
ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἡ δεῦρο ὁδὸς ὑμῶν τε ἕνεκα καὶ
τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγῶν ἐγένετο, ἅς μέχρι μὲν
Αἰγύπτου προελθόντι ξυγγνώμη ἀγνοῆσαι, προ-
χωρήσαντι δὲ ἐπ’ Αἰθιοπίαν, ὃν ἐγὼ τρόπον, καὶ
ὄνειδος φέροι τὸ παρελθεῖν αὐτὰς καὶ μὴ ἀρύ-
σασθαί τινας αὐτῶν λόγους.” “ἴθι χαίρων,” ἔφη,
“καὶ ὅ τι σοι φίλον, εὐχου ταῖς πηγαῖς, θεῖαι γάρ.
ἡγεμόνα δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσῃ τὸν πάλαι Ναυκρατίτην,
νῦν δὲ Μεμφίτην, Τιμασίωνα, τῶν τε γὰρ πηγῶν
ἐθὰς οὗτος καὶ οὕτω τι καθαρός, ὥς μὴ δεῖσθαι
τοῦ ραίνεσθαι. σοὶ δέ, ὦ Νεῖλε, βουλόμεθα ἐφ’
ἑαυτῶν διαλεχθῆναί τι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τῶν λόγων
οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, ξυνίει γὰρ αὐτῶν
δυσχερῶς διακειμένων, ἐπειδὴ ἤρα αὐτοῦ ὁ Νεῖλος,
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legislation will be similar to that of Solon and of CHAP.
Lycurgus; for assuredly these great legislators were XXI
inspired by justice to undertake their work."

XXII

SUCH, according to Damis, was the discussion held CHAP.
by them with regard to the just man, and Apollonius, XXII
he says, assented to their argument, for he always Apollonius
agreed with what was reasonably put. They also departs
had a philosophic talk about the soul, proving its with
immortality, and about nature, along much the same Timasion
lines which Plato follows in his Timaeus; and after and Nilus
some further remarks and discussions of the laws of in his train
the Hellenes, Apollonius said: "For myself I have
come all this way to see yourselves and visit the
springs of the Nile; for a person who only comes as
far as Egypt may be excused if he ignores the latter,
but if he advances as far as Ethiopia, as I have done,
he will be rightly reproached if he neglects to visit
them, and to draw as it were from their well-springs
some arguments of his own." "Farewell then,"
said the other, "and pray to the springs for what-
ever you desire, for they are divine. But I imagine
you will take as your guide Timasion, who formerly
lived at Naucratis, but is now of Memphis; for he is
well acquainted with the springs of the Nile and he
is not so impure as to stand in need of further
lustrations. But as for you, O Nilus, we would
like to have a talk to you by ourselves." The
meaning of this sally was clear enough to Apol-
lonius, for he well understood their annoyance at
Nilus' preference for himself; but to give them an

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXII ἐξιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς διαλέξεως ἀνῆει συ-
σκευασόμενος, ὥς ἐξελὼν ἅμα τῇ ἔφ, μετ' οὐ πολὺ
δὲ ἤκων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἀπήγγειλε μὲν οὐδὲν ὦν
ἤκουσεν, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θαμὰ ἐγέλα· ἡρώτα δ'
οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ γέλωτος, ἀλλ' ἐφείδοντο τοῦ
ἀπορρήτου.

XXIII

CAP.
XXIII Τότε μὲν δὴ δειπνήσαντες καὶ διαλεχθέντες οὐχ
ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αὐτοῦ ἐκοιμήθησαν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς προσειπόντες ἐπορεύοντο τὴν
εἰς τὰ ὄρη τείνουσαν ἀριστεροὶ τοῦ Νείλου, τάδε
ὁρῶντες λόγου ἄξια· οἱ Κατάδουποι γεώδη ὄρη
καὶ παραπλήσια τῷ Λυδῶν Τμώλῳ, κατάρρους δὲ
ἀπ' αὐτῶν φέρεται Νεῖλος, ἣν ἐπισπᾶται γῆν
ποιῶν Αἴγυπτον. ἡ δὲ ἡχὴ τοῦ ῥεύματος καταρ-
ρηγνυμένου τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ ψόφῳ ἅμα εἰς τὸν Νεῖλον
ἐκπίπτοντος χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτὴ ἀκοῦσαι,
καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πρόσω τοῦ μετρίου προελθόντες
ἀνέζευξαν ἀποβαλόντες τὸ ἀκούειν.

XXIV

CAP.
XXIV Προϊόντι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
μαστοὶ ὁρῶν ἐφαίνοντο παρεχόμενοι δένδρα, ὧν
Αἰθίοπες τὰ φύλλα καὶ τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ τὸ δά-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

opportunity of speaking to him apart, he left them to prepare and pack up for his journey, for he meant to start at daybreak. And after a little time Nilus returned, but did not tell them anything of what they had said to him, though he laughed a good deal to himself. And no one asked him what he was laughing about, but they respected his secret.

CHAP.
XXII

XXIII

THEY then took their supper and after a discussion of certain trifles they laid them down to sleep where they were; but at daybreak they said goodbye to the naked sages, and started off along the road which leads to the mountains, keeping the Nile on their right hand, and they saw the following spectacles deserving of notice. The Catadupi are mountains formed of good soil, about the same size as the hill of the Lydians called Tmolus; and from them the Nile flows rapidly down, washing with it the soil of which it creates Egypt; but the roar of the stream, as it breaks down in a cataract from the mountains and hurls itself noisily into the Nile, is terrible and intolerable to the ears, and many of those who have approached it too close have returned with the loss of their hearing.

CHAP.
XXIII
Description
of the
cataracts
of the Nile

XXIV

APOLLONIUS, however, and his party pushed on till they saw some round-shaped hills covered with trees, the leaves and bark and gum of which the Ethiopians

CHAP.
XXIV

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXIV

κρυον καρπὸν ἡγοῦνται, ἑώρων δὲ καὶ λέοντας ἀγχοῦ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τοιαῦτα θηρία ἕτερα, καὶ ἐπῆει οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπεπήδα σφῶν, ὥσπερ ἐκπεπληγμένα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἔλαφοι δὲ καὶ δορκάδες καὶ στρουθοὶ καὶ ὄνοι, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἐωράτο, πλεῖστα δὲ οἱ βόαγροί τε καὶ οἱ βούτραγοι· ξύγκειται δὲ τὰ θηρία ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ταύρου, τὸ δὲ ἀφ' ὧν περ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἤρηκε. καὶ ὁστοῖς δὲ τούτων ἐνετύγχανον καὶ ἡμιβρώτοις σώμασιν, οἱ γὰρ λέοντες, ἐπειδὴν θερμῆς τῆς θήρας ἐμφορηθῶσιν, ἀτιμάζουσιν αὐτῆς τὰ περιττά, πιστεύοντες, οἶμαι, τῷ καὶ αὐθις θηράσειν.

XXV

CAP.
XXV

Ἐνταῦθα νομάδες οἰκοῦσιν Αἰθίοπες ἐφ' ἰμαξῶν πεπολισμένοι, καὶ πλησίον τούτων οἱ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας θηρῶντες, κατακόπτουντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ποιοῦνται ἀγοράν, ὅθεν ἐπώνυμοί εἰσι τῆς τῶν ἐλεφάντων πράσεως. Νασαμῶνες δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Πυγμαῖοι καὶ Σκιάποδες ἔθνη μὲν Αἰθιόπων καὶ οἶδε, καθήκουσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Αἰθίοπα Ὀκεανόν, ὃν μόνον ἐσπλέουσιν οἱ ἀπενεχθέντες ἄκοντες.

XXVI

CAP.
XXVI

Διαλεγομένους δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἄλλο ἄλλως

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

regard as of great value; and they also saw lions CHAP. XXIV
close to the path, and leopards and other such wild
animals; but they were not attacked by any of
them, for they fled from them in haste as if they
were scared at the sight of men. And they also
saw stags and gazelles, and ostriches and asses, the
latter in great numbers, and also many wild bulls
and ox-goats, so-called, the former of these two
animals being a mixture of the stag and the ox,
that latter of the creatures from which its name is
taken. They found moreover on the road the bones
and half-eaten carcasses of these; for the lions, when
they have gorged themselves with fresh prey, care
little for what is left over of it, because, I think,
they feel sure of catching fresh quarry whenever
they want it.

XXV

It is here that the nomad Ethiopians live in a CHAP. XXV
sort of colony upon waggons, and not far from them
the elephant-hunters, who cut up these animals and
sell the flesh, and are accordingly called by a name Nonnad tribes of Ethiopia
which signifies the selling of elephants. And the
Nasamones and the man-eaters and the pigmies and
the shadow-footed people are also tribes of Ethiopia,
and they extend as far as the Ethiopian ocean,
which no mariners ever enter except castaways who
do so against their will.

XXVI

As our company were discussing these animals CHAP. XXVI
and talking learnedly about the food which nature

CAP.
XXVI

βοσκούσης, ἥχῳ προσέβαλεν οἶον βροντῆς οὐπω σκληρᾶς, ἀλλὰ κοίλης ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῷ νέφει. καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, “ἐγγύς,” ἔφη, “ὁ καταρράκτης, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὁ κατιόντων μὲν ὕστατος, ἀνιόντων δὲ πρῶτος.” καὶ στάδια δέκα ἴσως προελθόντες ἰδεῖν φασι ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόμενον τοῦ ὄρους μείω οὐδὲν ἢ ἐν πρώταις ξυμβολαῖς ὁ Μαρσύας καὶ ὁ Μαίανδρος, προσευξάμενοι δὲ τῷ Νείλῳ χωρεῖν πρόσω καὶ θηρία μὲν οὐκέτι ὁρᾶν, ψοφοδεᾶ γὰρ φύσει ὄντα προσοικεῖν τοῖς γαληνοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ῥαγδαίοις τε καὶ ἐνήχοις, ἐτέρου δὲ καταρράκτου ἀκοῦσαι μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκά που στάδια χαλεποῦ ἤδη καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτοῦ αἰσθῆσθαι, διπλασίῳ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸν τοῦ προτέρου, ὁρῶν δὲ ὑψηλοτέρων ἐκπίπτειν. ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὖν καὶ τινος τῶν ἐταίρων οὕτω τι κτυπηθῆναι τὰ ὦτα ὁ Δάμις φησίν, ὥς αὐτός τε ἀναξεῦξαι τοῦ τε Ἀπολλωνίου δεῖσθαι μὴ χωρεῖν πρόσω, τὸν δὲ ἐρρωμένως ξύν τε τῷ Τιμασίῳ καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ τοῦ τρίτου καταρράκτου ἔχεσθαι, περὶ οὗ τάδε ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἤκουτα· ἐπικρέμασθαι μὲν τῷ Νείλῳ κορυφὰς ἐκεῖ σταδίων μάλιστα ὀκτὼ ὕψος, τὴν δὲ ὄχθην τὴν ἀντικείμενὴν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὀφρὺν εἶναι λιθοτομίας ἀρρήτου, τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἀποκρεμαννυμένας τῶν ὁρῶν ὑπερπίπτειν ἐς τὴν πετρώδη ὄχθην, ἀναχεῖσθαι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον κυμαινούσας τε καὶ λευκάς. τὰ δὲ πάθη τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμβαίνοντα πολλὰ πλασίας ἢ αἱ πρότεραι οὔσας καὶ τὴν πηδῶσαν ἐκ

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supplies in their different cases, they heard a sound as of thunder : not a crashing sound, but of thunder as it is when it is still hollow and concealed in the cloud. And Timasion said : “ A cataract is at hand, gentlemen, the last for those who are descending the river, but the first to meet you on your way up.” And after they had advanced about ten stades, he says that they saw a river discharging itself from the hill-side quite as big as the Marsyas and the Maeander at their first confluence ; and he says that after they had put up a prayer to the Nile, they went on till they no longer saw any animals at all ; for the latter are naturally afraid of noise, and therefore live by calm waters rather than by those which rush headlong with a noise. And after fifteen stades they heard another cataract which this time was horrible and unbearable to the senses, for it was twice as loud as the first one and it fell from much higher mountains. And Damis relates that his own ears and those of one of his companions were so stunned by the noise, that he himself turned back and besought Apollonius not to go any further ; however he, along with Timasion and Nilus, boldly pressed on to the third cataract, of which he made the following report on their return. Peaks there overhang the Nile, at the most eight stades in height ; but the eminence faces the mountains, namely a beetling brow of rocks mysteriously cut away, as if in a quarry, and the fountains of the Nile cling to the edge of the mountain, till they overbalance and fall on to the rocky eminence, from which they pour into the Nile as an expanse of whitening billows. But the effect produced upon the senses by this cataract, which is many times greater than the earlier ones,

CHAP.
XXVI
The
cataracts

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXVII

τούτων ἡχὼ ἐς τὰ ὄρη, δυσήκοον ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ ρεύματος. τὴν δὲ πρόσω ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώτας πηγὰς ἄγουσαν ἄπορον μὲν ἐλθεῖν φασιν, ἄπορον δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ δαιμόνων ἄδουσιν, οἷα καὶ Πινδάρῳ κατὰ σοφίαν ὕμνηται περὶ τοῦ δαίμονος, ὃν ταῖς πηγαῖς ταύταις ἐφίστησιν ὑπὲρ ξυμμετρίας τοῦ Νείλου.

XXVII

CAP.
XXVII

Καταλύσαντες δὲ μετὰ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἐν κώμῃ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας οὐ μεγάλη ἐδείπνουν μὲν περὶ ἐσπέραν, ἐγκαταμιγνύντες σπουδὴν παιδιᾷ, βοῆς δὲ ἀθρόας τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ γυναικῶν ἤκουσαν ἐπικελευομένων ἀλλήλαις ἐλεῖν, καὶ διῶξαι, παρεκάλουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἐς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἔργου, οἱ δ' ἄρπασάμενοι ξύλα καὶ λίθους καὶ ὃ τι ἐς χεῖρας ἐκάστω ἔλθοι, ξυνεκάλουν ὥσπερ ἀδικούμενοι τοὺς γάμους. ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ἄρα τῇ κώμῃ δέκατον ἤδη μῆνα σατύρου φάσμα λυττῶν ἐπὶ τὰ γύναια, καὶ δύο ἀπεκτονέσθαι σφῶν ἐλέγετο, ὧν μάλιστα ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν. ἐκπλαγέντων οὖν τῶν ἐταίρων, “μὴ δέδιστε,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὑβρίζει γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα σάτυρος.” “νὴ Δί,” ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος,

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and the echo which leaps up therefrom against the mountains render it impossible to hear what your companion tells you about the river.¹ But the further road which leads up to the first springs of the river was impracticable, they tell us, and impossible to think of; for they tell many stories of the demons which haunt it, stories similar to those which Pindar in his wisdom puts into verse about the demon whom he sets over these springs to preserve the due proportions of the Nile.

CHAP.
XXVI

XXVII

AFTER passing the cataracts they halted in a village of the Ethiopians of no great size, and they were dining, towards the evening, mingling in their conversation the grave with the gay, when all on a sudden they heard the women of the village screaming and calling to one another to join in the pursuit and catch the thing; and they also summoned their husbands to help them in the matter. And the latter caught up sticks and stones and anything which came handy, and called upon one another to avenge the insult to their wives. And it appears that for ten months the ghost of a satyr had been haunting the village, who was mad after the women and was said to have killed two of them to whom he was supposed to be specially attached. The companions, then, of Apollonius were frightened out of their wits till Apollonius said: "You need not be afraid, for it's only a satyr that is

CHAP.
XXVII

Story of
the satyr
to whom
Apollonius
gave wine

¹ Or "render investigation of the stream a trial to the ears."

“ὅν γε ἡμεῖς οἱ Γυμνοὶ χρόνῳ ἤδη ὑβρίζοντα
 μήπω μετεστήσαμεν τοῦ σκιρτᾶν.” “ἀλλ’ ἔστιν,”
 εἶπεν, “ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑβριστὰς τούτους φάρμακον, ᾧ
 λέγεται Μίδας ποτὲ χρήσασθαι· μετείχε μὲν γὰρ
 τοῦ τῶν σατύρων γένους ὁ Μίδας οὗτος, ὡς ἐδήλου
 τὰ ὦτα, σάτυρος δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν εἰς κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς
 ἐκώμαζε τὰ τοῦ Μίδου διαβάλλων ὦτα, καὶ οὐ
 μόνον ἄδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλῶν τούτῳ, ὁ δ’, οἶμαι,
 τῆς μητρὸς ἀκηκοώς, ὅτι σάτυρος οἶνῳ θηρευθεὶς,
 ἐπειδὰν ἐς ὕπνον καταπέσῃ, σωφρονεῖ καὶ διαλ-
 λάττεται, κρήνην τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰ βασίλεια
 κεράσας οἶνῳ ἐπαφῆκεν αὐτῇ τὸν σάτυρον, ὁ δὲ
 ἐπιέ τε καὶ ἤλω. καὶ ὅτι μὴ ψεύδεται ὁ λόγος,
 ἴωμεν παρὰ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ ἦν ἔχωσιν οἱ
 κωμήται οἶνον, κεράσωμεν αὐτὸν τῷ σατύρῳ, καὶ
 ταῦτά τῷ Μίδου πείσεται.” ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ
 ἀμφορέας Αἰγυπτίους τέτταρας οἰνοχοήσας ἐς
 ληνόν, ἀφ’ ἧς ἔπινε τὰ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ πρόβατα, ἐκάλει
 τὸν σάτυρον ἀφανῶς τι ἐπιπλήττων, ὁ δὲ οὐπω
 μὲν ἐωρᾶτο, ὑπεδίδου δὲ ὁ οἶνος, ὥσπερ πινόμενος·
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξεπόθη, “σπείσώμεθα, ἔφη, “τῷ σατύρῳ,
 καθεύδει γάρ.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἡγεῖτο τοῖς
 κωμήταις ἐς Νυμφῶν ἄντρον, πλέθρον οὐπω ἀπέχον
 τῆς κώμης, ἐν ᾧ καθεύδοντα δείξας αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι
 εἶπε τοῦ παίειν ἢ λοιδορεῖσθαι οἱ, “πέπανται γὰρ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

running amuck here." "Yes, by Zeus," said Nilus, CHAP.
XXVII
"it's the one that we naked sages have found insulting us for a long time past and we could never stop his jumps and leaps." "But," said Apollonius, "I have a remedy against these hell-hounds, which Midas is said once to have employed; for Midas himself had some of the blood of satyrs in his veins, as was clear from the shape of his ears; and a satyr once, trespassing on his kinship with Midas, made merry at the expense of his ears, not only singing about them, but piping about them. Well, Midas, I understand, had heard from his mother that when satyr is overcome by wine he falls asleep, and at such times comes to his senses and will make friends with you; so he mixed wine which he had in his palace in a fountain and let the satyr get at it, and the latter drank it up and was overcome. And to show that the story is true, let us go to the head man of the village, and if the villagers have any wine, we will mix it with water for the satyr and he will share the fate of Midas' satyr." They thought it a good plan, so he poured four Egyptian jars of wine into the trough out of which the village cattle drank, and then called the satyr by means of some secret rebuke or threat; and though as yet the latter was not visible, the wine sensibly diminished as if it was being drunk up. And when it was quite finished, Apollonius said: "Let us drink the satyr's health, for he is fast asleep." And with these words he led the villagers to the cave of the nymphs, which was not quite a furlong away from the village; and he showed them the satyr lying fast asleep in it, but told them not to hit him or abuse him, "For," he said, "his nonsense is stopped for ever." Such was

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CAP.
XXVII

τῶν ἀνοήτων.” τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον Ἀπολλωνίου, μὰ Δί', οὐχὶ ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, ἀλλὰ παροδοῦ ἔργον, καὶ ἐντύχη τις ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἣν πρὸς μεираκίον ὑβρίζον γράφων καὶ σάτυρον δαίμονα σωφρονίσαι φησὶν ἐν Αἰθιοπία, μεμνησθαι χρὴ τοῦ λόγου τούτου. σατύρους δὲ εἶναί τε καὶ ἐρωτικῶν ἄπτεσθαι μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν· οἶδα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Λῆμνον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τινα ἰσηλίκων, οὗ τῇ μητρὶ ἐλέγετο τις ἐπιφοιτᾶν σάτυρος, ὥς εἰκὸς ἦν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτῃ, νεβρίδα γὰρ ξυμφυᾶ ἐφκει ἐνημμένῳ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον, ἥς οἱ ποδεῶνες οἱ πρῶτοι ξυνειληφότες τὴν δέρην περὶ τὸ στέρνον αὐτῷ ἀφήπτοντο. ἀλλὰ μὴ πλείω ὑπὲρ τούτων, οὔτε γὰρ ἡ πείρα ἀπιστητέα οὔτε ἐγώ.

XXVIII

CAP.
XXVIII

Καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ἡ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην διαφορὰ τότε μάλιστα ἐπέδωκε ἐκ τῶν ὀσημέραι διαλέξεων, ἐπέτρεπε δὲ αὐτὰς Μενίππῳ τε καὶ Νείλῳ, σμικρὰ ἐπιτιμῶν αὐτοὺς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, τοῦ δὲ Νείλου σφόδρα ἐπεμελείτο.

XXIX

CAP.
XXIX

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίτος ἡρῇκει τὰ Σόλυμα καὶ νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν πάντα, τὰ ὄμορά τε ἔθνη ἐστεφάνουν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἡξιού ἐαυτὸν τούτου, μὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς

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this exploit of Apollonius, and, by heavens, we may call it not an incidental work in passing, but a master-work of his passing by¹; and if you read the sage's epistle, in which he wrote to an insolent young man that he had sobered even a satyr demon in Ethiopia, you will perforce call to mind the above story. But we must not disbelieve that satyrs both exist and are susceptible to the passion of love; for I knew a youth of my own age in Lemnos whose mother was said to be visited by a satyr, as he well might to judge by this story; for he was represented as wearing on his back a fawn-skin that exactly fitted him, the front paws of which were drawn around his neck and fastened over his chest. But I must not go further into this subject; but, anyhow, credit is due as much to experience of facts as it is to myself.

CHAP.
XXVII

XXVIII

WHEN he had come down from Ethiopia the breach with Euphrates grew wider and wider, especially on account of daily disputes and discussions; though he left them to Menippus and Nilus to conduct, and seldom himself attacked Euphrates, being much too busy with the training of Nilus.

CHAP.
XXVIII
Breach with
Euphrates

XXIX

AFTER Titus had taken Jerusalem, and when the country all round was filled with corpses, the neighbouring races offered him a crown; but he disclaimed any such honour to himself, saying that it

CHAP.
XXIX
Correspondence with
Titus

¹ I try to render the pun of the original.

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CAP.
XXIX

ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι, θεῶ δὲ ὀργὴν φήναντι ἐπιδεδω-
κέναι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας, ἐπῆναι ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος
ταῦτα, γνώμη τε γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφαίνετο καὶ
ξύνεσις ἀνθρωπείων τε καὶ θείων, καὶ σωφροσύνης
μεστὸν τὸ μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐφ' αἵματι. ξυντάττει
δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ἧς διάκονον ποιεῖται
τὸν Δάμιν, καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ὧδε·

“ Ἀπολλώνιος Τίτῳ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων χαίρειν.

Μὴ βουληθέντι σοι ἐπ' αἰχμῇ κηρύττεσθαι, μηδ'
ἐπὶ δηίῳ αἵματι, δίδωμι ἐγὼ τὸν σωφροσύνης στέ-
φανον, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ στεφανοῦσθαι, γιγνώσκεις.
ἔρρωσο.”

Ὑπερῃσθεις δὲ ὁ Τίτος τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, “ καὶ ὑπὲρ
ἑμαντοῦ,” ἔφη, “ χάριν οἶδά σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
πατρός, καὶ μεμνήσομαι τούτων, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
Σόλυμα ἤρηκα, σὺ δὲ ἐμέ.”

XXX

CAP.
XXX

Ἀναρρηθεὶς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ
ἀριστείων ἀξιωθείς τούτων, ἀπῆει μὲν ἰσομοιρήσων
τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ πατρί, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνθυμη-
θεὶς, ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιος αὐτῷ ἔσται καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ
ξυγγενόμενος, ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ ἐς Ταρσοὺς ἡκεῖν, καὶ
περιβαλὼν ἐλθόντα, “ πάντα μοι ὁ πατήρ,” ἔφη,

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was not he himself that had accomplished this exploit, but that he had merely lent his arms to God, who had so manifested his wrath; and Apollonius praised his action, for therein he displayed a great deal of judgment and understanding of things human and divine, and it showed great moderation on his part that he refused to be crowned because he had shed blood. Accordingly Apollonius indited to him a letter which he sent by the hand of Damis and of which the text was as follows :

CHAP
XXIX

“ Apollonius sends greetings to Titus the Roman General. Whereas you have refused to be proclaimed for success in war and for shedding the blood of your enemies, I myself assign to you the crown of temperance and moderation, because you thoroughly understand what deeds really merit a crown. Farewell.”

Now Titus was overjoyed with this epistle, and replied: “ In my own behalf I thank you, no less than in behalf of my father, and I will not forget your kindness; for although I have captured Jerusalem, you have captured me.”

XXX

AND after Titus had been proclaimed autocrat in Rome and rewarded with the meed of his valour, he went away to become the colleague in Empire of his father; but he did not forget Apollonius, and thinking that even a short interview with him would be precious to himself, he besought him to come to Tarsus; and when he arrived he embraced him, saying: “ My father has told me by letter every-

CHAP
XXX
Visits Titus
at Antioch

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXX

“ἐπέστειλεν, ὦν ξύμβουλον ἐποιεῖτό σε, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἢ ἐπιστολή, ὡς εὐεργέτης τε αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ γέγραψαι καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ἐσμέν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔτη μὲν τριᾶκοντα ταυτὶ γέγονα, ἀξιούμενος δὲ ὦν ὁ πατὴρ ἐξηκοντούτης ὦν, καὶ καλούμενος ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν πρὶν οὐκ οἶδ’ εἰ ἀρχθῆναι εἰδέειν, δέδια μὴ μειζόνων, ἢ ἐμὲ χρή, ἄπτωμαι.” ἐπιψηλαφήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐχένα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔρρωτο αὐτὸν ἴσα τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὸ σῶμα, “καὶ τίς,” εἶπε, “βιάσεται ταῦρον αὐχένα οὕτω κρατερόν ὑποσχεῖν ζυγῷ;” “ὁ ἐκ νέου,” ἔφη, “μοσχεύσας με,” τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λέγων ὁ Τίτος καὶ τὸ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου ἂν μόνου ἀρχθῆναι, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀκροάσει ξυνείθιζε. “χαίρω,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “πρῶτον μὲν παρσκευασμένον σε ὁρῶν ἔπεσθαι τῷ πατρί, ὑφ’ οὗ χαίρουσιν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ οἱ μὴ φύσει παῖδες, θεραπεύουσιν τὰς ἐκείνου θύρας, ᾧ ξυνθεραπευθήσῃ. νεότητος δὲ γήρα ἅμα ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἰούσης τίς μὲν λύρα, τίς δὲ αὐλὸς ἡδεῖαν ὧδε ἀρμονίαν καὶ ξυγκεκραμένην ἄσεται; πρεσβύτερα γὰρ ξυμβήσεται νέοις, ἐξ ὧν καὶ γήρας ἰσχύσει καὶ νεότης οὐκ ἀτακτήσῃ.”

XXXI

CAP.
XXXI

“Ἐμοὶ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Τυανεῦ, περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας τί ὑποθήσῃ;” “ἂ γε,” ἔφη, “σεαυτὸν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

thing in respect of which he consulted you; and lo, here is his letter, in which you are described as his benefactor and the being to whom we owe all that we are. Now though I am only just thirty years of age, I am held worthy of the same privileges to which my father only attained at the age of sixty. I am called to the throne and to rule, perhaps before I have learnt myself to obey, and I therefore dread lest I am undertaking a task beyond my powers." Thereupon Apollonius, after stroking his neck, said (for he had as stout a neck as any athlete in training): "And who will force so sturdy a bull-neck as yours under the yoke?" "He that from my youth up reared me as a calf," answered Titus, meaning his own father, and implying that he could only be controlled by the latter, who had accustomed him from childhood to obey himself. "I am delighted then," said Apollonius, "in the first place to see you prepared to subordinate yourself to your father, whom without being his natural children so many are delighted to obey, and next to see you rendering to his court a homage in which others will associate yourself. When youth and age are paired in authority, is there any lyre or any flute that will produce so sweet a harmony and so nicely blended? For the qualities of old age will be associated with those of youth, with the result that old age will gain in strength and youth in discipline."

XXXI

"AND for myself, O man of Tyana," answered Titus, "can you give me any precepts as to how

CAP.
XXXI

πέπεικας, ὑποκείμενος γὰρ τῷ πατρὶ δῆλὰ πον, ὥς ὁμοιώσῃ αὐτῷ· καὶ τὸν Ἀρχύτου δ' ἂν εἴποιμι νυνὶ λόγον, γενναῖος γὰρ καὶ μαθεῖν ἄξιος· ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀρχύτας ἀνὴρ Ταραντῖνος τὰ Πυθαγόρου σοφός· οὗτος ὑπὲρ παίδων ἀγωγῆς γράφων, “ἔστω,” φησίν, “ὁ πατὴρ παράδειγμα ἀρετῆς τοῖς παισίν, ὥς καὶ τῶν πατέρων ξυντονώτερον βαδιουμένων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρετάς, ἣν ὁμοιωῦνταὶ σφισιν οἱ παῖδες.” ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ Δημήτριον ξυστήσω τὸν ἐμαντοῦ ἐταῖρον, ὃς ξυνέσται σοι ὅποσα βούλει διδάσκων, τί δεῖ πράττειν τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄρχοντα.” “τίς δέ,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, ἡ σοφία τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου;” “παρρησία,” εἶπε, “καὶ τὸ ἀληθεύειν ἐκπλήττεσθαί τε ὑπὸ μηδενός, ἐστὶ γὰρ τοῦ Κυνικοῦ κράτους.” δυσχερῶς δὲ τοῦ Τίτου τὸν κύνα ἀκούσαντος, “Ὁμήρῳ μέντοι,” ἔφη, “νέος ὢν ὁ Τηλέμαχος καὶ δυοῖν ἐδόκει κυνῶν δεῖσθαι, καὶ ξυμπέμπει αὐτοῦς ὀπαδοὺς τῷ μεираκίῳ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἰθακησίων ἀγορὰν καίτοι ἀλόγους ὄντας, σοὶ δὲ ξυνέσται κύων, ὃς ὑπὲρ σοῦ τε πρὸς ἑτέρους καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν σε, εἴ τι ἁμαρτάνοις, σοφῶς ἅμα καὶ οὐδὲ ἀλόγως ὑλακτῆσει.” “δίδου,” εἶπε, “τὸν ὀπαδὸν κύνα, ξυγχαρῶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δακεῖν, εἴ τί με ἀδικοῦντα

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to rule and exercise the authority of a sovereign?" "Only such rules," replied the other, "as you have laid upon yourself; for in so submitting yourself to your father's will, it is, I think, certain that you will grow like him. And I would like to repeat to you on this occasion a saying of Archytas, which is a noble one and worth committing to memory. Archytas was a man of Tarentum who was learned in the lore of Pythagoras, and he wrote a treatise on the education of children, in which he says: 'Let the father be an example of virtue to his children, for fathers also will the more resolutely walk in the path of virtue because their children are coming to resemble them.' But for myself, I propose to associate with you my own companion Demetrius, who will attend you as much as you like and instruct you in the whole duty of a good ruler." "And what sort of wisdom, O Apollonius, does this person possess?" "Courage," he replied, "to speak the truth unabashed by anyone, for he possesses the constancy and strength of character of a cynic." And as Titus did not seem very pleased to hear the name of dog,¹ he continued: "And yet in Homer, Telemachus, when he was young, required, it appears, two dogs, and the poet sends these to accompany the youth to the market-place of Ithaca, in spite of their being irrational animals; but you will have a dog to accompany you who will bark in your behalf not only at other people, but at yourself in case you go wrong, and he will bark withal wisely, and never irrationally." "Well," said the other, "give me your dog to accompany me, and I will even let him bite me, in case he

CHAP.
XXXI

Assigns to
Titus
Demetrius
the Cynic
to teach
him how
to rule

¹ A cynic means literally a canine philosopher.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXI

αἰσθοίτο.” “γεγράφεται,” ἔφη, “πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολή, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης.” “γεγράφθω,” εἶπεν, “ἐβουλόμην δ’ ἂν καὶ πρὸς σὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τινα γράφειν, ὥς ἅμα τῆς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ κοινωνὸς ἡμῖν γένοιτο.” “ἀφίξομαι,” ἔφη, “ὅποτε ἀμφοῖν λῶον.”

XXXII

CAP.
XXXII

Μεταστησάμενος δὲ ὁ Τίτος τοὺς παρόντας, “αὐτοί,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Τυανεῦ, γεγόναμεν, ξυγχωρεῖς γάρ που ἐρωτᾶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμοὶ σπουδαιοτάτων ;” “ἐρώτα,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοσούτῳ προθυμότερον, ὅσῳ ὑπὲρ μειζόνων.” “περὶ ψυχῆς,” εἶπε, “τῆς ἐμαντοῦ, καὶ οὗς μάλιστα φυλαττοίμην ἄν, ἔσται μοι ἡ ἐρώτησις, εἰ μὴ δόξω δειλὸς δεδιὼς ἤδη ταῦτα.” “ἀσφαλῆς μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἐφεστηκώς, προορᾶν γὰρ τούτου χρὴ μάλιστα.” καὶ ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀναβλέψας ὥμνυ αὐτόν, ἥ μὲν αὐτὸς μέλλειν ὑπὲρ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξειν μὴδὲ ἐρωτῶντα, τοὺς γὰρ θεοὺς φῆναί οἱ προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ζῶντος μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς δεδιέναι τοὺς ἐκείνῳ πολεμιωτάτους, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῷ οἰκαιοτάτους. “ἀποθανοῦμαι δέ,” εἶπε, “τίνα τρόπον ;” “ὄν γε,” ἔφη, “Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγεται, φασὶ γὰρ κακείνῳ

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feels I am committing injustice." "I will write to him a letter, for he teaches philosophy in Rome." "Pray do so," said Titus, "and I wish I could get some one to write to you in my behalf, and induce you to share with me my journey to Rome." "I will come there," said the other, "whenever it is best for both of us."

CHAP.
XXXI

XXXII

THEN Titus dismissed the company, and said: "Now that we are alone, O man of Tyana, you will allow me perhaps to ask you a question upon matters of grave importance to myself." "Pray do so," said the other, "and do so all the more readily because the matter is so important." "It is about my own life," said the other, "and I would feign know whom I ought most to be on my guard against. That is my question, and I hope you will not think me cowardly for already being anxious about it." "Nay, you are only cautious," said the other, "and circumspect; for a man ought to be more careful about this than about anything else." And glancing at the Sun he swore by that god that he had himself intended to address Titus about this matter even if he had not asked him. "For," he said, "the gods have told me to warn you, so long as your father is alive, to be on your guard against his bitterest enemies, but after his death against your own kith and kin." "And," said Titus, "in what way am I to die?" "In the same way," said the other, "as Odysseus is said to have died, for

CHAP.
XXXII
Foretells to
Titus the
manner of
his death

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XXXII

τὸν θάνατον ἐκ θαλάττης ἐλθεῖν.” ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις ὧδε ἐρμηνεύει · φυλάττεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν αἰχμὴν τῆς τρυγόνας, ἣ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά βεβλήσθαι φασι, δυοῖν δὲ ἐτοῖν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου λαγῶ ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τοῦτον παρέχεσθαι χυμούς ἀπορρήτους ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ γῇ ἀνδροφύνα, καὶ Νέρωνα μὲν ἐσποιῆσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὄψοις τὸν λαγὼν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους, Δομετιανὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τίτον, οὐ τὸ ξὺν ἀδελφῷ ἄρχειν δεινὸν ἡγούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ξὺν πρῶτῳ τε καὶ χρηστῷ. τοιαῦτα διαλεχθέντες ἰδίᾳ περιέβαλον ἀλλήλους ἐν φανερώ, ἀπιόντα δὲ προσειπὼν, “νίκα, ὦ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ὅπλοις, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἀρεταῖς.”

XXXIII

CAP.
XXXIII

Ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπιστολὴ ὧδε εἶχεν ·
Ἀπολλώνιος φιλόσοφος Δημητρίῳ κυνὶ χαίρειν.
Δίδωμί σε βασιλεῖ Τίτῳ διδάσκᾳλον τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἡθους, σὺ δ' ἀληθεῦσαί τέ μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν δίδου καὶ γίγνου αὐτῷ, πλὴν ὀργῆς, πάντα ἔρρωσο,

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they say that he too met with his death by the sea." Damis interprets the above utterance as follows: Namely, that he was to be on his guard against the cusp of the fish called the trygon, with which they say Odysseus was wounded. Anyhow, after he had occupied the throne for two years, in succession to his father, he died through eating the fish called the sea-hare; and this fish, according to Damis, causes secret humours in the body worse and more fatal than anything else either in the sea or on land. And Nero, he says, introduced this sea-hare in his dishes to poison his worst enemies; and so did Domitian in order to remove his brother Titus, not because he objected to sharing his throne with his brother, but to sharing it with one who was both gentle and good. Such was their conversation in private, after which they embraced one another in public, and as Titus departed Apollonius greeted him with these last words: "Pray you, my King, overcome your enemies by your arms, but your father by your virtues."

CHAP.
XXXII

XXXIII

BUT the letter to Demetrius ran as follows: "Apollonius, the Philosopher, sends greetings to Demetrius the cynic."

CHAP.
XXXIII
Letter to
Demetrius

"I have made a present of you to the Emperor Titus, that you may instruct him how to behave as a sovereign, and take care that you confirm the truth of my words to him, and make yourself, anger apart, everything to him. Farewell."

XXXIV

CAP.
XXXIV

Οἱ δὲ τοὺς Ταρσοὺς οἰκοῦντες τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἤχθοντο τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ διὰ τε τὰς ἐπιπλήξεις, ἐπειδὴ ξυντόνους αὐτὰς ἐποιεῖτο, διὰ τε τὸ ἀνειμένοι καὶ τρυφῶντες μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ λόγου ἀνέχεσθαι ῥώμην, τότε δ' οὕτω τι ἡπτήθησαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὥς οἰκιστὴν τε αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ στήριγμα τοῦ ἄστεος. ἔθυε μὲν γὰρ δημοσίᾳ ὁ βασιλεύς, ξυνελθούσα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἰκέτευσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων, ὁ δὲ μεμνήσεσθαι τούτων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔφη καὶ πρεσβεύσειν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν δέονται· παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ εἰ δὲ ἐνίους,” ἔφη, “ τούτων ἐλέγξαιμι σοὶ μὲν καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ πολεμίους, πεπρεσβευμένους δὲ ὑπὲρ νεωτέρων ἐς τὰ Σόλυμα, ξυμμάχους δ' ἀφανεῖς τῶν σοι φανερωτάτων ἐχθρῶν, τί πείσονται ;” “ τί δὲ ἄλλο γε,” εἶπεν, “ ἢ ἀπολοῦνται ;” “ εἶτα οὐκ αἰσχρόν,” ἔφη, “ τὰς μὲν τιμωρίας αὐτίκα ἀπαιτεῖν, τὰς δὲ εὐεργεσίας ὀψὲ διδόναι, καὶ τὰς μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐς κοινωνίαν γνώμης ἀνατίθεσθαι ;” ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, “ δίδωμι τὰς δωρεάς,” εἶπεν, “ οὐ γὰρ μοι ἀχθέσεται ὁ πατὴρ ἀληθείας ἡπτωμένῳ καὶ σοῦ.”

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XXXIV

Now the inhabitants of Tarsus had previously detested Apollonius, because of the violent reproaches which he addressed to them, owing to the fact that through their languid indifference and sensual indolence they could not put up with the vigour of his remarks. But on this occasion they became such devoted admirers of our hero as to regard him as their second founder and the mainstay of their city. For on one occasion the Emperor was offering a sacrifice in public, when the whole body of citizens met and presented a petition to him asking for certain great favours; and he replied that he would mention the matter to his father, and be himself their ambassador to procure them what they wanted; whereupon Apollonius stepped forward and said: "Supposing I convicted some who are standing here of being your own and your father's enemies, and of having sent legates to Jerusalem to excite a rebellion, and of being the secret allies of your most open enemies, what would happen to them?" "Why, what else," said the Emperor, "than instant death?" "Then is it not disgraceful," replied Apollonius, "that you should be instant in demanding their punishment, and yet dilatory in conferring a boon; and be ready yourself to undertake the punishment, but reserve the benefaction until you can see and consult your father?" But the king, over-delighted with this remark, said: "I grant the favours they ask for, for my father will not be annoyed at my yielding to truth and to yourself."

CHAP.
XXXIV

His
benevolence
to the
people of
Antioch

CAP.
XXXV

Τοσαῦτα ἔθνη φασὶν ἐπελθεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον σπουδάζοντά τε καὶ σπουδαζόμενον. αἱ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἀποδημίαι πολλαὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο τῷ ἀνδρί, οὐ μὴν τοσαῦταί γε ἔτι, οὐδὲ ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη πλὴν ἃ ἔγνω, περὶ τε γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Αἴγυπτον καταβάντι αὐτῷ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας διατριβὴ πλείων ἐγένετο, περὶ τε Φοίνικας καὶ Κίλικας Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἰταλοὺς πάλιν, οὐδαμοῦ ἐλλείποντι τὸ μὴ οὐχ ὁμοίῳ φαίνεσθαι. χαλεποῦ γὰρ τοῦ γνῶναι ἑαυτὸν δοκοῦντος, χαλεπώτερον ἔγωγε ἡγοῦμαι τὸ μέναι τὸν σοφὸν ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιον, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς πονηρῶς φύντας ἐς τὸ λῶον μεταστήσει, μὴ πρότερον ἐξασκήσας τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς μεθίστασθαι. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοις ἱκανῶς εἴρηκα, διδάσκων τοὺς μὴ μαλακῶς αὐτοῖς ὁμιλοῦντας, ὅτι τὸν ἀτεχνῶς ἄνδρα μὴτε μεταστήσει τι μὴτε δουλῶσεται. ὥς δὲ μὴτε ἐς λόγων ἵοιμεν μῆκος, ἀκριβῶς ἀναδιδάσκοντες τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις αὐτῷ φιλοσοφηθέντα, μὴτ' αὖ διαπηδῶντες φαινοίμεθα λόγον, ὃν οὐκ ἀπόνως παραδίδομεν τοῖς ἀπείροις τοῦ ἀνδρός, δοκεῖ μοι τὰ σπουδαιότερα ἐπελθεῖν τούτων καὶ ὅποσα μνήμης ἀξιῶσεται. ἡγώμεθα δὲ αὐτὰ παραπλήσια ταῖς τῶν Ἀσκληπιάδων ἐπιδημίαις.

XXXV

So many were the races which they say Apollonius had visited until then, eager and zealous for others as they for him. But his subsequent journeys abroad, though they were numerous, were yet not so many as before, nor did he go to fresh districts which he was not already acquainted with; for when he came down from Ethiopia he made a long stay on the sea-board of Egypt, and then he returned to Phoenicia and Cilicia, and to Ionia and Achaea, and Italy, never failing anywhere to shew himself the same as ever. For, hard as it is to know oneself, I myself consider it still harder for the sage to remain always himself; for he cannot ever reform evil natures and improve them, unless he has first trained himself never to alter in his own person. Now about these matters I have discoursed at length in other treatises, and shewn those of my readers who were careful and hard students, that a man who is really a man will never alter his nature nor become a slave. But lest I should unduly prolong this work by giving a minute account of the several teachings which he addressed to individuals, and lest on the other hand I should skip over any important chapter of a life, which I am taking so much pains to transmit to those who never knew Apollonius, I think it time to record more important incidents and matters which will repay the remembering; for we must consider that such episodes are comparable to the visits to mankind paid by the sons of Aesclepius.

CHAP.
XXXVFurther
journeys of
Apollonius

XXXVI

CAP.
XXXVI

Μειράκιον ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀπαιδεύτως εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ὄρνις ἐπαίδευε, καὶ ξυνοίκους ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο· ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτοὺς λαλεῖν τε ὅσα οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τερετίζειν ὅσα αὐλοί. τούτῳ περιτυχών, “ τί,” ἔφη, “ ἐπιτηδεύεις;” ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς τε ἀηδόνας αὐτῷ διήκει καὶ τοὺς κοψίχους καὶ ὅποσα εὐγλωττίζοι τοὺς χαραδρίους, τὴν φωνὴν δὲ ἀπαίδευτον ἐφαίνετο, “ δοκεῖς μοι,” ἔφη, “ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ὄρνις, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἑαυτῶν φθέγμα, οὕτως ἡδὺ ὄν, ὡς μὴδ’ ἂν τὰ μουσικὰ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐς μίμησιν αὐτοῦ καταστῆναι, εἶτα καὶ τῷ κάκιστα Ἑλλήνων αὐτὸς διαλεγόμενος, μαθητὰς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ἀφωνίας. ἐπιτρίβεις δ’, ὦ μειράκιον, καὶ τὸν σεαυτοῦ οἶκον· βλέψαντι γὰρ ἐς τοὺς ἀκολούθους καὶ ὡς κατεσκευάσαι, τῶν ἀβρῶν ἔμοιγε καὶ οὐκ ἀπλούτων φαίνῃ, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ὑποβλίσττουσιν οἱ συκοφάνται, κέντρα ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἡρμένοι τὴν γλῶτταν. καὶ τί χρῆσις τῇ φιλορνηθίᾳ τότε; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πασῶν ἀηδόνων μέλη ξυμφέρων ἀποσοβήσεις αὐτοὺς ἐγκειμένους τε καὶ ἐρείδοντας, ἀλλ’ ἐπαντλεῖν χρή τῶν ὄντων, καὶ προβάλλειν αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ τὰ μειλίγματα τοῖς

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XXXVI

THERE was a youth who, without having any education of his own, undertook to educate birds, which he kept in his home to make them clever; and he taught them to talk like human beings and to whistle tunes like flute-players. Apollonius met him and asked: "How are you occupying yourself"? And when he replied, and told him all about his nightingales and his blackbirds, and how he trained the tongues of stone curlews—as he had himself a very uneducated accent—Apollonius said: "I think you are spoiling the accents of the birds, in the first place because you don't let them utter their own notes, which are so sweet that not even the best musical instruments could rival or imitate them, and in the second place because you yourself talk the vilest Greek dialects and are only teaching them to stutter like yourself. And what is more, my good youth, you are also wasting your own substance; for when I look at all your hangers-on, and at your get-up, I should say that you were a delicately bred and somewhat wealthy man; but sycophants squeeze people like yourself, at the same time that they shoot out their tongues at them like so many goads. And what will be the use to you of all this bird-fancying when the time comes? For if you collected all the song-birds in the world, it would not help you to shake off these parasites that cling to you and oppress you; nay you are forced to shower your wealth upon them and cast your gold before them, as you scatter tit-bits before dogs; and to stop their

CHAP.
XXXVI
Story of the
youth who
trained
birds to
talk

CHAP. κυσί, καὶ ὑλακτῶσιν, αὐθις διδόναι καὶ αὐθις,
XXXVI εἶτα αὐτὸν πεινῇν ὕστερον καὶ ὑπορεῖν.

Δεῖ δέ σοι ἐκτροπῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἤδη
τινὸς τῶν τρόπων, ὥς μὴ λάθῃς πτερορρυήσας τὸν
πλοῦτον, καὶ ἀξίως πράττων τοῦ θρηνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον
ὑπ' ὀρνίθων ἢ ἄδεσθαι. τὸ δὲ φάρμακον τῆς μετα-
βολῆς οὐ μέγα, ἐστὶ γάρ τι ἐν ἀπάσαις πόλεσιν
ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, ὃ σὺ οὐπω μὲν γιγνώσκεις,
καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ διδασκάλους· τούτοις ἀπὸ τῆς
οὐσίας μικρὰ δούς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτήσῃ τὰ πλείω,
ῥητορικὴν γάρ σε παιδεύσουσι τὴν τῶν ἀγοραίων,
ῥαδίᾳ δ' ἡ τέχνη. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παῖδά σε ἐώρων ἔτι,
ξυνεβούλευον ἂν φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ φιλοσόφων τε καὶ
σοφιστῶν θύρας, καὶ σοφίᾳ πάσῃ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν
σεαυτοῦ φράττειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξωρος τούτων τυγχάνεις
ὢν, τὸ γοῦν ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ λέγειν ἔκμαθε, νομίσας,
εἰ μὲν τὰ τελεώτερα ἔμαθες, καὶ ὅμοιος ἀνδρὶ ὀπλι-
τεύοντί τε καὶ φοβερῷ δόξαι, ταυτὶ δ' ἐκμαθὼν τὴν
τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ σφενδονητῶν σκευὴν ἔξεις· βάλ-
λοισ γὰρ ἂν τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὥσπερ τοὺς κύνας.”
ξυνῆκε τὸ μεῖράκιον τούτων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀρνίθων
διατριβὰς ἐκλιπὸν ἐς διδασκάλων ἐβάδισεν, ὑφ'
ᾧ καὶ ἡ γνώμη αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα ἴσχυσεν.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

barking you must give again and again, until at last CHAP.
you will find yourself reduced to hunger and to XXXVI
poverty.

“What you want is some splendid diversion which will instantly make some alteration in your character, otherwise you will wake up one day and find that you have been plucked of your wealth as if it were plumage, and that you are a fitter subject to excite the birds to lament than to sing. The remedy you need to effect such a change is not a very great one ; for there is in all cities a class of men, whose acquaintance you have never made, but who are called schoolmasters. You give them a little of your substance with the certainty of getting it back with interest ; for they will teach you the rhetoric of the Forum, and it is not a difficult art to acquire. I may add that, if I had known you as a child and come across you then, I should have advised you assiduously to attend at the doors of the philosophers and sophists, so as to be able to hedge round your habitation with a wider learning ; but, since it is too late for you to manage that, at any rate learn to plead for yourself ; for remember, if you had acquired a more complete training and education, you would have resembled a man who is heavy-armed and therefore formidable ; yet, if you thoroughly learn this branch, you will at any rate be equipped like a light-armed soldier or a slinger, for you will be able to fling words at your sycophants, as you would stones at dogs.” The young man took to heart this advice, and he gave up wasting his time over birds and betook himself to school, much to the improvement both of his judgment and of his tongue.

XXXVII

CAP.
XXXVII

Δυοῖν δὲ λόγοιν ἐν Σάρδεσι λεγομένοιν, τοῦ μέν, ὡς ὁ Πακτωλὸς ποτε τῷ Κροίσῳ ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ ἄγοι, τοῦ δέ, ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς γῆς εἶη τὰ δένδρα, τὸν μὲν πιθανῶς ἔφη πεπιστεῦσθαι, χρυσία γὰρ εἶναί ποτε τῷ Τμώλῳ ψαμμώδη καὶ τοὺς ὄμβρους αὐτὰ φέρειν ἐς τὸν Πακτωλὸν κατασύροντας, χρόνῳ δέ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτὰ ἀποκλυσθέντα. τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου λόγου καταγελάσας, “ὕμεῖς μὲν,” ἔφη, “προγενέστερα τῆς γῆς φατε εἶναι τὰ δένδρα, ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺν οὕτω χρόνον φιλοσοφήσας οὐπω ἔγνω οὐρανοῦ προγενεστέρους ἀστέρας,” διδάσκων ὅτι μηδ' ἂν γένοιτό τι τοῦ ἐν ᾧ φύεται μὴ ὄντος.

XXXVIII

CAP.
XXXVIII

Στασιάζοντος δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος καὶ καθιέντος ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, ὑφ' ὧν διειστήκεσαν ἐκκλησιαζομένη πόλις, σεισμῳ δὲ γενναίου προσπεσόντος, ἔπτηξαν καὶ ὅπερ ἐν διοσημίαις εἶωθεν, ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ηὔξαντο. παρελθὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὁ μὲν θεός,” ἔφη, “διαλακτῆς ὑμῶν σαφῆς γέγονεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἂν αὐθις στασιάζαιτε, τὰ αὐτὰ φοβούμενοι.” καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔννοιαν ὧν πείσονται, καὶ ὡς ταῦτ' οἱ ἑτέροις φοβήσονται.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XXXVII

Two stories are told in Sardis, one that the River Pactolus used to bring down gold-dust to Croesus, and the other that trees are older than earth. The former story Apollonius said he accepted because it was probable, for that there had once been a sand of gold on mount Tmolus, and that the showers of rain had swept it down into the river Pactolus ; although subsequently, as is generally the case in such matters, it had given out, being all washed away. But the second story he ridiculed and said : " You pretend that trees were created before the earth ; well, I have been studying philosophy all this time, yet never heard of the stars being created before the heaven." The inference he wished to convey was that nothing could be created as long as that in which it grows does not exist.

CHAP.
XXXVII
Gold-dust
of the
Pactolus

XXXVIII

THE ruler of Syria had plunged Antioch into a feud, by disseminating among the citizens suspicions such that when they met in assembly they all quarrelled with one another. But a violent earthquake happening to occur, they were all cowering, and as is usual in the case of heavenly portents, praying for one another. Apollonius accordingly stepped forward and remarked : " It is God who is clearly anxious to reconcile you to one another, and you will not revive these feuds since you cherish the same fears." And so he implanted in them a sense of what was to happen to them, and made each faction entertain the same fears as the other.

CHAP.
XXXVIII
Homily
on the
earthquake
of Antioch

CAP.
XXXIX

Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τούτου ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἔθνέ τις ὑπὲρ θησαυροῦ τῇ Γῇ καὶ οὐδὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τούτου ὥκνει, ὁ δὲ ἐνθυμηθείς, οἷων ἐρᾷ, “δεινόν γε,” ἔφη, “χρηματιστὴν ὀρώ.” “κακοδαίμονα μὲν οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ᾧ γέ ἐστιν οὐδὲν πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἃ μὴ ἀπόχρη βόσκειν τὸν οἶκον.” “ἔοικας,” ἔφη, “πολλοὺς τρέφειν καὶ ἀργοὺς οἰκέτας, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτός γε τῶν ἀσόφων φαίνῃ.” ὁ δὲ ἡρέμα ἐπιδακρύσας, “θυγάτριά μοι,” εἶπεν, “ἐστὶ τέτταρα καὶ φερνῶν δεῖ τεττάρων. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰσι δισμύριαί που δραχμαὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῖς θυγατράσι κατανεμηθῶσιν, ἐκεῖναί τε σμικρὰ εἰληφέναι δόξουσιν, ἐγὼ τε ἀπολούμαι ἔχων οὐδέν.” παθὼν οὖν τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἐπιμελησόμεθά σου,” ἔφη, “κἀγὼ καὶ ἡ Γῇ, φασὶ γάρ σε θύειν αὐτῇ.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα προήει τὰ προάστεια, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς καρποὺς ὠνούμενοι, ἰδὼν δέ τι χωρίον ἐλαῶν πλήρες καὶ ἡσθεὶς τοῖς δένδρεσιν, ὡς εὐφυᾶ τε ἦν καὶ μεγάλα, καὶ τινος κηπίου ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντος, ἐν ᾧ σμήνη τε καὶ ἄνθη ἑωρᾶτο, παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ κηπίον ὡς τι ἐπισκεψόμενος μεῖζον, καὶ προσευξάμενος τῇ Πανδώρα ἐχώρει ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. βαδίσας δὲ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀγροῦ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

XXXIX

HERE is another incident worth recording. A certain man was sacrificing to mother Earth in hope of finding a treasure, and he did not hesitate to offer a prayer to Apollonius with that intent. He, perceiving what he was after, said: "I see that you are terribly fond of filthy lucre." "Nay, I am a poor devil," remarked the other, "that have nothing except a few pence, and not enough to feed my family." "You seem," said the other, "to keep a large household of idle servants, nor do you yourself appear to be wanting in wits." But the man shed a quiet tear and answered: "I have four daughters, who want four dowries, and, when my daughters have had their dowries assigned to them, my capital, which is now only 20,000 drachmas, will have vanished; and they will think that they have got all too little, while I shall perish because I shall have nothing at all." Therefore Apollonius took compassion on him and said: "We will provide for you, myself and mother Earth, for I hear that you are sacrificing to her." With these words he conducted the man into the suburbs, as if he were going to buy some fruit, and there he saw an estate planted with olive-trees; and being delighted with the trees, for they were very good ones and well grown, and there was also a little garden in the place, in which he saw bee-hives and flowers, he went on into the garden as if he had some important business to examine into, and then, having put up a prayer to Pandora, he returned to the city. Then he proceeded to the owner of the field, who had

CHAP.
XXXIX
Story of the
man who,
guided by
Apollonius,
found a
treasure

CAP.
XXXIX

δεσπότην, ᾧ πλοῦτος ἐκ τῶν παρανομωμάτων πεπόριστο, τὰς Φοινίκων οὐσίας ἐνδεικνύντι, “χωρίον,” ἔφη, “τὸ δεῖνα πόσου ἐπρίω καὶ τί πεπόνηται σοι ἐς αὐτό;” τοῦ δὲ πέρυσι μὲν ἐωνῆσθαι τὸν ἀγρόν, πεντακισχιλίων δὲ καὶ μυρίων φήσαντος, οὐπω δ’ ἐκπεπονηκέναι τι, πείθει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποδόσθαι οἱ δισμυρίων αὐτόν, εὖρημα ποιησάμενον τὰς πεντακισχιλίας. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐρῶν οὐπω ξυνίει τοῦ δώρου, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ᾧετο ἴσα ἔχειν, τοσοῦτῳ δὲ ἐλάττω, ὅσῳ τὰς μὲν δισμυρίας ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν οὐσας ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ εἶναι ἄν, τὸν δ’ ἀντ’ αὐτῶν ἀγρόν ἐπὶ πάχυναις κείσεσθαι καὶ χαλάζαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἃ τοὺς καρποὺς φθείρει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀμφορέα μὲν τρισχιλίων δαρεικῶν αὐτίκα εὔρε περὶ αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ ἐν τῷ κηπίῳ σμήνος, εὐφόρου δὲ τοῦ τῆς ἐλαίας καρποῦ ἔτυχεν, οὐκ εὐφορούσης τότε τῆς ἄλλης γῆς, ὕμνοι αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἤδοντο καὶ μνηστήρων θεραπευόντων αὐτὸν πλέα ἦν πάντα.

XL

CAP.
XL

Κακεῖνα ἀξιομνημόνευτα εὔρον τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἐρᾶν τις ἐδόκει τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔδους ὃ ἐν Κνίδῳ γυμνὸν ἴδρυται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνετίθει, τὰ δ’

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amassed a fortune in the most unrighteous manner, by informing against the estates of Phoenicians, and said: "For how much did you purchase such and such an estate, and how much labour have you spent upon it?" The other replied that he had bought the estate a year before for the sum of 15,000 drachmas, but that as yet he had spent no labour upon it, whereupon Apollonius persuaded him to sell it to him for 20,000 drachmas, which he did, esteeming the 5,000 to be a great windfall. Now the man who wanted to find the treasure did not in the least understand the gift that was made him, indeed he hardly considered it a fair bargain for himself, and all the worse a bargain, because, whereas he might have kept the 20,000 drachmas that he had in hand, he now reflected that the estate which he purchased for the sum might suffer from frost and hail-storms and from other influences ruinous to the crops. But when he found a jar almost at once in the field containing 3,000 darics, close by the beehive in the little garden, and when he got a very large yield from the olive-trees, when everywhere else the crops had failed, he began to hymn the praises of the sage, and his house was crowded with suitors for the hands of his daughters urging their suits upon him.

CHAP.
XXXIX

XL

HERE is another story which I came upon about Apollonius, and which deserves to be put upon record: There was a man who was in love with a nude statue of Aphrodite which is erected in the

CHAP.
XL

CAP.
XL

ἀναθήσειν ἔφασκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, Ἀπολλωνίῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ἄτοπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ παρητεῖτο ἢ Κνίδος, ἀλλ' ἐναργεστέραν ἔφασαν τὴν θεὸν δόξειν, εἰ ἐρῶτο, ἔδοξε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καθῆραι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἀνοίας ταύτης, καὶ ἐρομένων τῶν Κνιδίων αὐτόν, εἴ τι βούλοιτο τῶν θυτικῶν ἢ εὐκτικῶν διορθοῦσθαι, “ὀφθαλμούς,” ἔφη, “διορθώσομαι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάτρια ἐχέτω, ὡς ἔχει.” καλέσας οὖν τὸν θρυπτόμενον ἤρετο αὐτόν, εἰ θεοὺς νενόμικε, τοῦ δ' οὕτω νομίζειν θεοὺς φήσαντος, ὡς καὶ ἐρᾶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν γάμων μνημονεύσαντος, οὓς θύσειν ἡγεῖτο, “σὲ μὲν ποιηταί,” ἔφη, “ἐπαίρουσι τοὺς Ἀγχίσας τε καὶ τοὺς Πηλέας θεαῖς ξυζυγῆναι εἰπόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἐρᾶσθαι τόδε γιγνώσκω· θεοὶ θεῶν, ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπων, θηρία θηρίων, καὶ καθάπαξ ὅμοια ὁμοίων ἐρᾶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτυμα καὶ ξυγγενῇ τίκτειν, τὸ δὲ ἑτερογενὲς τῷ μὴ ὁμοίῳ ξυνελθὼν οὔτε ζυγὸς οὔτε ἔρως. εἰ δὲ ἐνεθυμοῦ τὰ Ἰξίοιους, οὐδ' ἂν ἐς ἔννοιαν καθίστασο τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίων ἐρᾶν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν τροχῷ εἰκασμένος δι' οὐρανοῦ κνάμπεται, σὺ δ', εἰ μὴ ἄπει τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀπολεῖ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῇ, οὐδ' ἀντειπεῖν ἔχων τὸ μὴ οὐ δίκαια τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ σοὶ γινῶναι.” ὧδε ἡ παροινία

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

island of Cnidus; and he was making offerings to it, and said that he would make yet others with a view to marrying the statue. But Apollonius, though on other grounds he thought his conduct absurd, yet as the islanders were not averse to the idea, but said that the fame of the goddess would be greatly enhanced if she had a lover, determined to purge the temple of all this nonsense; and when the Cnidians asked him if he would reform their system of sacrifice or their litanies in any way, he replied: "I will reform your eyes, but let the ancestral service of your temple continue as it is." Accordingly he called to him the languishing lover and asked him if he believed in the existence of gods: and when he replied that he believed in their existence so firmly that he was actually in love with them, and mentioned a marriage with one of them which he hoped to celebrate shortly, Apollonius replied: "The poets have turned your poor head by their talk of unions of Anchises and Peleus and other heroes with goddesses; but I know this much about loving and being loved: gods fall in love with gods, and human beings with human beings, and animals with animals, and in a word like with like, and they have true issue of their own kind; but when two beings of different kinds contract a union, there is no true marriage or love. And if you only would bear in mind the fate of Ixion, you would never have dreamed of falling in love with beings so much above you. For he, you remember, is bent and stretched across the heaven like a wheel; and you, unless you get out of this shrine, will perish wherever you are upon earth, nor will you be able to say that the gods have been unjust in their sentence upon

CHAP.

XL

Of the youth who wished to marry a statue of Aphrodite

CAP.
XL. ἐσβέσθη, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ φάσκων ἐρᾶν, ὑπὲρ
ξυγγνώμης θύσας.

XLI

CAP.
XLI. Σεισμῶν δὲ κατασχόντων ποτὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ ἰρι-
στερῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν καὶ
Χαλδαῖοι περὶ αὐτὰς ἡγείροντο ὑπὲρ ξυλλογῆς
 χρημάτων, ὡς δεκαταλάντους θυσίας Ἰῇ καὶ
 Ποσειδῶνι θύσοντες, ξυνέφερον δ' αἱ πόλεις τὰ
 μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκων, ὑποκεί-
 μενοι τῷ φόβῳ, οἱ δέ, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τραπεζῶν ἐκτεθείη
 τὸ ἀργύριον, οὐκ ἂν ἔφασαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θῦσαι.
 δοκεῖ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μὴ περιδεῖν τοὺς Ἑλλησ-
 ποντίους. καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὰς πόλεις τοὺς μὲν
 ἀπῆλασεν ὡς θησαυρὸν πεποιημένους τὰ ἐτέρων
 κακά, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τῶν μηνιμάτων ξυλλαβὼν καὶ
 ὡς ἐκάστη πρόσφορον θύσας, ἀπεύξατο τὴν προσ-
 βολὴν δαπάνῃ σμικρᾷ, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἔστη.

XLII

CAP.
XLII. Δομετιανοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον
 εὐνούχους τε μὴ ποιεῖν νομοθετήσαντος, ἀμπέλους
 τε μὴ φυτεύειν ἔτι καὶ τὰς πεφυτευμένας δὲ αὐτῶν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

you." Thus he put a stop to this mad freak, and the man went away who said he was in love, after sacrificing in order to gain forgiveness. CHAP.
XL

XLI

AT one time the cities on the left side of the Hellespont were visited by earthquakes, and Egyptians and Chaldeans went begging about through them to collect money, pretending that they wanted ten talents with which to offer sacrifices to earth and to Poseidon. And the cities began to contribute under the stress of fear, partly out of their common funds and partly out of private. But the impostors refused to offer the sacrifices in behalf of their dupes unless the money was deposited in the banks. Now the sage determined not to allow the peoples of the Hellespont to be imposed upon; so he visited their cities, and drove out the quacks who were making money out of the misfortunes of others, and then he divined the causes of the supernatural wrath, and by making such offerings as suited each case averted the visitation at small cost, and the land was at rest. CHAP.
XLI
Egyptian
and
Chaldean
quacks
rebuked

XLII

THE Emperor Domitian about the same time passed a law against making men eunuchs, and against planting fresh vineyards, and also in favour of cutting down vineyards already planted, whereon CHAP.
XLII

CAP. XLII. ἐκκόπτειν, παρελθὼν ἐς τοὺς Ἰωνας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “τὰ μὲν προστάγματα οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα, μόνος γὰρ ἴσως ἀνθρώπων οὔτε αἰδοίων δέομαι οὔτε οἶνον, λέληθε δὲ ὁ θαυμασιώτατος τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων φειδόμενος, τὴν δὲ γῆν εὐνουχίζων.” ὅθεν ἐς θάρσος ἡ Ἰωνία ἦλθε πρεσβεύσασθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὑπὲρ ἀμπέλων καὶ παραιτήσασθαι νόμον, ὃς ἐκέλευε καὶ δηοῦσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ μὴ φυτεύεσθαι.

XLIII

CAP. XLIII. Κακεῖνα ἐν Ταρσοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἄδουσι· κύων ἐνεπεπτώκει ἐφήβῳ λυττῶν, καὶ ἀπήγε τὸν ἔφηβον τὸ δῆγμα ἐς τὰ τῶν κυνῶν πάντα, ὑλάκτει τε γὰρ καὶ ὠρύετο καὶ τετράπους ἔθει τῷ χεῖρι ὑπέχων τῷ δρόμῳ. νοσοῦντι δ’ αὐτῷ τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν ἐφίσταται μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἄρτι ἐς τοὺς Ταρσοὺς ἦκων, κελεύει δὲ ἀνιχνευθῆναί οἱ τὸν κύνα, ὃς ταῦτα εἰργάσατο, οἱ δ’ οὔτε ἐντετυχηκέναι τῷ κυνὶ ἔφασαν, ἔξω γὰρ τείχους εἰληφθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐφήβου πρὸς ἀκοντίοις ὄντος, οὔτ’ ἂν τοῦ νοσοῦντος μαθεῖν, ἥτις ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ κυνός, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἔτι οἶδεν. ἐπισχὼν οὖν, “ὦ Δάμι,” ἔφη, “λευκὸς ὁ κύων λάσιος προβατευτικὸς Ἀμφιλοχικῷ ἴσος, προσέστηκε δὲ τῇ δεῖνι κρήνῃ τρέμων, τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ καὶ ποθεῖ καὶ δέδοικεν· ἄγε μοι τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην, ἐφ’ ἧς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

Apollonius, who was visiting the Ionians, remarked :
 “ These rescripts do not concern mé, for I, alone perhaps of mankind, require neither to beget my kind nor to drink wine ; but our egregious sovereign seems not aware that he is sparing mankind, while he eunuchises the earth.” This witticism emboldened the Ionians to send a deputation to the emperor in behalf of their vines, and ask for a repeal of the law which ordered the earth to be laid waste and not planted.

CHAP.
 XLII
 Domitian's
 rescript
 against
 eunuchs
 and vine-
 yards

XLIII

HERE too is a story which they tell of him in Tarsus. A mad dog had attacked a lad, and as a result of the bite the lad behaved exactly like a dog, for he barked and howled and went on all four feet using his hands as such, and ran about in that manner. And he had been ill in this way for thirty days, when Apollonius, who had recently come to Tarsus, met him and ordered him to look for the dog which had done the harm. But they said that the dog had not been found, because the youth had been attacked outside the wall when he was practising with javelins, nor could they learn from the patient what the dog was like, for he did not even know himself any more. Then Apollonius reflected a moment and said : “ O Damis, the dog is a white shaggy sheep-dog, as big as an Amphilocheian hound, and he is standing at a certain fountain trembling all over, for he is longing to drink the water, but at the same time is afraid of it. Bring him to me to the bank of the river, where there are

CHAP.
 XLIII
 Apollonius
 heals a
 youth bitten
 by a mad
 dog

CAP.
XLIII

αἱ παλαιῖσται, μόνον εἰπών, ὅτι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καλοῖτο.²
 ἐλχθεῖς δ' ὁ κύων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος, ὑπεκλίθη τοῖς
 τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ποσίν, ὥσπερ οἱ βώμιοι τῶν
 ἱκετῶν κλαίων, ὁ δ' ἡμέρου τε αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον
 καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπράυνε, τὸν ἔφηβόν τε ἴστη ἐγγὺς
 ξυνέχων αὐτός, ὡς δὲ μὴ λάθοι τοὺς πολλοὺς μέγα
 ἀπόρρητον, “μεθέστηκε μέν,” ἔφη, “ἐς τὸν παῖδα
 τοῦτον ἢ Τηλέφου ψυχὴ τοῦ Μυσοῦ, Μοῖραι δ'
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ ταῦτά βούλονται,” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα
 ἐκέλευσε τὸν κύνα περιλιχμήσασθαι τὸ δῆγμα, ὡς
 ἱατρὸς αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ τρώσας γένοιτο. ἐπεστράφη
 τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐς τὸν πατέρα ὁ παῖς καὶ ξυνῆκε τῆς
 μητρός, προσεῖπέ τε τοὺς ἡλικας καὶ ἔπιε τοῦ
 Κύδνου, περιώφθη δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ κύων, ἀλλὰ κακεῖνον
 εὐξάμενος τῷ ποταμῷ δι' αὐτοῦ ἦκεν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ
 διέβη τὸν Κύδνον, ἐπιστὰς τῇ ὄχθῃ φωνήν τε
 ἀφῆκεν, ὅπερ ἦκιστα περὶ τοὺς λυττῶντας τῶν
 κυνῶν ξυμβαίνει, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἀνακλάσας ἔσεισε
 τὴν οὐράν, ξυνιὲς τοῦ ἐρρῶσθαι, φαρμακοποσία
 γὰρ λύττης ὕδωρ, ἣν θαρσῆσῃ αὐτὸ ὁ λυττῶν.

Τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν τε καὶ
 πόλεων καὶ τὰ πρὸς δήμους καὶ ὑπὲρ δήμων, καὶ
 τὰ ὑπὲρ τεθνεώτων ἢ νοσοῦντων, καὶ τὰ πρὸς
 σοφοὺς τε καὶ μὴ σοφοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέας,
 οἳ ξύμβουλον αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς ἐποιοῦντο.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VI

the wrestling grounds, merely telling him that it is I who call him." So Damis dragged the dog along, and it crouched at the feet of Apollonius, crying out as a suppliant might do before an altar. But he quite tamed it by stroking it with his hand, and then he stood the lad close by, holding him with his hand; and in order that the multitude might be cognisant of so great a mystery, he said: "The soul of Telephus of Mysia has been transferred into this boy, and the Fates impose the same things upon him as upon Telephus." And with these words he bade the dog lick the wound all round where he had bitten the boy, so that the agent of the wound might in turn be its physician and healer. After that the boy returned to his father and recognised his mother, and saluted his comrades as before, and drank of the waters of the Cydnus. Nor did the sage neglect the dog either, but after offering a prayer to the river he sent the dog across it; and when the dog had crossed the river, he took his stand on the opposite bank, and began to bark, a thing which mad dogs rarely do, and he folded back his ears and wagged his tail, because he knew that he was all right again, for a draught of water cures a mad dog, if he has only the courage to take it.

Such were the exploits of our sage in behalf of both temples and cities; such were the discourses he delivered to the public or in behalf of different communities, and in behalf of those who were dead or who were sick; and such were the harangues he delivered to wise and unwise alike, and to the sovereigns who consulted him about moral virtue.

CHAP.
XLIII

BOOK VII

Η'

I

CAP.
I. Οἶδα καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας, ὡς ἔστιν ἀρίστη βάνος ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφούντων, καὶ ξυγχωρῶ σκοπεῖν, ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐτέρου ἤττον ἢ μᾶλλον ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν, ὁ λόγος δέ μοι ξυντείνει ἐς τόδε· κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς Δομετιανὸς ἐτυράννευσε, περιέστησαν τὸν ἄνδρα κατηγορίαι καὶ γραφαί, ὅπως μὲν ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ὁπόθεν καὶ ὃ τι ἐκάστη ὄνομα, δηλώσω αὐτίκα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη λέξαι, τί μὲν εἰπὼν, τίς δὲ εἶναι δόξας ἀπῆλθε τῆς κρίσεως, ἔλων μᾶλλον τὸν τύραννον ἢ ἀλοὺς αὐτός, δοκεῖ μοι διελθεῖν πρὸ τούτων, ὁπόσα εὖρον ἀφηγήσεως ἄξια σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τυράννους ἔργα, παραδεικνύειν τε αὐτὰ τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίου· χρή γάρ που τάληθές οὕτω μαστεύειν.

II

CAP.
II. Ζήνων μὲν τοίνυν ὁ Ἐλεάτης, διαλεκτικῆς δὲ οὗτος δοκεῖ ἄρξαι, τὴν Νεάρχου τοῦ Μυσοῦ κατὰ λύων τυραννίδα ἤλω, καὶ στρεβλωθεὶς τοὺς μὲν
146

BOOK VII

I

I AM aware that the conduct of philosophers under despotism is the truest touchstone of their character, and am in favour of inquiring in what way one man displays more courage than another. And my argument also urges me to consider the point ; for during the reign of Domitian Apollonius was beset by accusations and writs of information, the several origins, sources and counts of which I shall presently enlarge upon ; and as I shall be under the necessity of specifying the language which he used and the rôle which he assumed, when he left the court after convicting the tyrant rather than being himself convicted, so I must first of all enumerate all the feats of wise men in the presence of tyrants which I have found worthy of commemoration, and contrast them with the conduct of Apollonius. For this I think is the best way of finding out the truth.

CHAP.

I
Superiority
of
Apollonius
to other
champions
of liberty

II

ZENO then of Elea, who was the father of dialectic, was convicted of an attempt to overthrow the tyranny of Nearchus the Mysian ; and being put to the rack he refused to divulge the names of his accomplices,

CHAP.

II
Zeno the
Eleian

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
II. ἑαυτοῦ ξυνωμότας ἀπεσιώπησεν, οἱ δ' ἦσαν τῷ
 τυράννῳ βέβαιοι, διαβαλὼν τούτους ὥς οὐ βε-
 βαίους, οἱ μὲν ὥς ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ ταῖς αἰτίαις ἀπέ-
 θανον, ὁ δ' ἐλεύθερα τὰ Μουσῶν ἤγαγε τὴν
 τυραννίδα περὶ ἑαυτῇ σφήλας. Πλάτων δὲ ὑπὲρ
 τῆς Σικελιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνά φησιν ἄρασθαι,
 συλλαβὼν τῆς διανοίας ταύτης Δίῳ. Φύτῳ
 δὲ Ῥηγίου ἐκπεσὼν κατέφυγε μὲν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον
 τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον, μειζόνων δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ἢ τὸν
 φεύγοντα εἰκός, ξυνῆκε μὲν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ ὅτι
 τοῦ Ῥηγίου ἐρώη, Ῥηγίνοις δ' ἐπιστέλλων ταῦτα
 ἦλω, καὶ ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἐνδὸς τῶν μηχανημάτων
 ἀνάψας αὐτὸν ζῶντα προσήγαγε τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὥς
 μὴ βάλοιεν οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι τὸ μηχανήμα φειδοῖ τοῦ
 Φύτῳ, ὁ δὲ ἐβόα βάλλειν, σκόπὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς
 ἐλευθερίας εἶναι. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ Πύθων οἱ
 Κότυν ἀποκτείναντες τὸν Θράκα νεανία μὲν ἦσθην
 ἄμφω, τὰς δὲ Ἀκαδημίους διατριβὰς ἐπαινοῦντες
 σοφῶ τε ἐγενέσθην καὶ οὕτως ἐλευθέρῳ. τὰ δὲ
 Καλλισθένους τοῦ Ὀλυνθίου τίς οὐκ οἶδεν; ὃς
 ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ διαβαλὼν
 Μακεδόνας, ὅτε μέγιστοι δυνάμει ἦσαν, ἀπέθανεν
 ἀηδὴς δόξας. Διογένης δὲ ὁ Σινωπεὺς καὶ Κράτης
 ὁ Θηβαῖος, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς Χαιρωνείας ἦκων ἐπέπληξεν
 ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων Φιλίππῳ περὶ ὧν, Ἡρακλείδης
 εἶναι φάσκων, ἀπώλλυ ὅπλοις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

though he accused of disloyalty those who were loyal to the tyrant, with the result that, whereas they were put to death on the assumption that his accusations were true, he effected the liberation of the Mysians, by tripping despotism up over itself. And Plato also declares that he took up the cause of the liberation of the people of Sicily, and associated himself in this enterprise with Dion. And Phyton, when he was banished from Rhegium, fled to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily; but being treated with more honour than an exile might expect, he realized that the tyrant had designs also upon Rhegium; and he informed the people there of this by letter. But he was caught doing so by the tyrant, who forthwith fastened him to one of his siege engines alive, and then pushed it forward against the walls, imagining that the inhabitants of Rhegium would not shoot at the machine in order to spare Phyton. He, however, cried out to them to shoot, for, said he: "I am the target of your liberty." And Heraclides and Python who slew Cotys the Thracian were both of them young men, and they embraced the discipline and life of the Academy, and made themselves wise and so free men. And who does not know the story of Callisthenes of Olynthus? He on one and the same day delivered himself of a panegyric and of an attack upon the Macedonians, just at the time when they were at the acme of their power; and they put him to death for exciting their displeasure. Then there were Diogenes of Synope and Crates of Thebes, of whom the former went direct to Chaeronea, and rebuked Philip for his treatment of the Athenians, on the ground that, though asserting himself to be a descendant of Hercules he yet was destroying

CHAP.
II

Plato

Phyton of
Rhegium

Heraclides
and Python

Callisthenes
of Olynthus

Diogenes
and Crates

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. II. ὅπλα ἡρμένους, ὁ δ' ἀνοικιεῖν Θήβας Ἀλεξάνδρου δι' αὐτὸν φήσαντος οὐκ ἂν ἔφη δεηθῆναι πατρίδος, ἣν κατασκάψει τις ὅπλοις ἰσχύσας. καὶ λέγοιτο μὲν ἂν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὁ λόγος δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μῆκος, τῷ γε ἀνάγκην ἔχοντι καὶ πρὸς τὰῦτα ἀντειπεῖν, οὐχ ὥς οὐ καλὰ ἢ οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἦττω τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ ἄριστα ἐτέρων φαίνεται.

III

CAP. III. Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἐλεάτου ἔργον καὶ οἱ τὸν Κότυν ἀπεκτονότες οὐπὼ ἀξιόλογα, Θράκας γὰρ καὶ Γέτας δουλοῦσθαι μὲν ῥάδιον, ἐλευθεροῦν δὲ εὖηθες, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ χαίρουσιν, ἅτε, οἶμαι, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸ δουλεύειν. Πλάτων δὲ ὥς μὲν οὐ σοφόν τι ἔπαθε τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ διορθούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Ἀθήνησιν, ἢ ὥς εἰκότως ἐπράθη σφαλεῖς τε καὶ σφήλας, οὐ λέγω διὰ τοὺς δυσχερῶς ἀκροωμένους. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ῥηγίνου πρὸς Διονύσιον μὲν ἐτολμᾶτο τυραννεύοντα οὐ βεβαίως Σικελίας, ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάντως ἀποθανὼν ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ Ῥηγίνων ἐβλήθη, θαυμάστον, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν ἔπραττε, τὸν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

by force of arms those who had taken up arms in defence of the descendants of Hercules. The other Crates, when Alexander had declared that he would rebuild Thebes for his sake, replied that he would never stand in need of a country or of a city, which anyone could raze to the ground by mere force of arms. Many more examples of this kind could be adduced, but my treatise does not allow me to prolong them. It is indeed incumbent upon me to criticise these examples, not in order to show that they were not as remarkable as they are universally famous, but only to show that they fall short of the exploits of Apollonius, in spite of their being the best of their kind.

III

ABOUT the conduct of Zeno of Elea then, and about the murder of Cotys there is nothing very remarkable; for as it is easy to enslave Thracians and Getae, so it is an act of folly to liberate them; for indeed they do not appreciate freedom, because, I imagine, they do not esteem slavery to be base. I will not say that Plato somewhat lacked wisdom when he set himself to reform the affairs of Sicily rather than those of Athens, or that he was sold in all fairness when, after deceiving others, he found himself deceived, for I fear to offend my readers. But the despotic sway of Dionysius over Sicily was already tottering when Phyton of Rhegium made his attempt against him, and in any case he would have been put to death by him, even if the people of that city had not shot their bolts at him; his achievement, then, I think, was by no means

CHAP.
II

CHAP.
III
Criticism
of Zeno,

of Plato,

of Phyton,

CAP. III. ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐτέρων ἐλευθερίας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ δουλείας αἰρούμενος. Καλλισθένης δὲ τὸ δόξαι κακὸς οὐδ' ἂν νῦν διαφύγοι, τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας καὶ διαβαλὼν, ἡ διέβαλεν, οὓς ἐνόμισεν ἐπαίνων ἀξίους, ἡ ἐπήνεσεν, οὓς ἐχρῆν διαβάλλοντα φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλως ὁ μὲν καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκ ἔχει ἀποδρᾶναι τὸ μὴ οὐ δόξαι βάσκανος, ὁ δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς κολακεύων ἐπαίνοις αὐτὸς ἀποίσεται τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων σφίσιν, οἱ γὰρ κακοὶ κακίους ἐπαινούμενοι. Διογένης δὲ πρὸ Χαιρωνείας μὲν εἰπὼν ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ ἐφύλαξε τὸν ἄνδρα καθαρὸν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ὄπλων, εἰργασμένοις δ' ἐπιστὰς ὠνείδιζε μὲν, οὐ μὴν διωρθούτο. Κράτης δὲ καὶ αἰτίαν ἂν λάβοι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς φιλοπόλιδος μὴ ξυνάράμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς βουλῆς, ἥ ἐς τὸ ἀνοικίσαι τὰς Θήβας ἐχρῆτο. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ οὐθ' ὑπὲρ πατρίδος κινδυνευούσης δείσας, οὔτε τοῦ σώματος ἀπογνοῦς, οὔτ' ἐς ἀνοήτους ὑπαχθεὶς λόγους, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ Μυσῶν ἢ Γετῶν, οὔτε πρὸς ἄνδρα, ὃς ἦρχε νήσου μιᾶς ἢ χώρας οὐ μεγάλης, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ᾧ θάλαττά τε ἦν καὶ γῆ πᾶσα, πρὸς τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ πικρῶς ἐτυράννευε, παρέττατεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων κέρδους, χρησάμενος μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ πρὸς Νέρωνα.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

wonderful : he only preferred to die in behalf of CHAP. III
the liberty of others rather than to endure the death
penalty of being himself a slave. And as for Callis- of Callis-
thenes,
thenes, even to-day he cannot acquit himself of
baseness ; for in first commending and then attacking
one and the same set of people, he either attacked
those whom he felt to be worthy of praise, or he
praised those whom he ought to have been openly
attacking. Moreover a person who sets himself to
abuse good men cannot escape the charge of being
envious, while he who flatters the wicked by his
very praises of them draws down upon his own head
the guilt of their misdeeds, for evil men are only
rendered more evil when you praise them. And
Diogenes, if he had addressed Philip in the way he of Diogenes,
did before the battle of Chaeronea instead of after
it, might have preserved him from the guilt of taking
up arms against Athens ; but instead of doing so he
waited till the harm was done, when he could only
reproach him, but not reform him. As for Crates, he of Crates
must needs incur the censure of every patriot for not
seconding Alexander in his design of recolonising
Thebes. But Apollonius had not to fear for any
country that was endangered, nor was he in despair
of his own life, nor was he reduced to silly and idle
speeches, nor was he championing the cause of Mysians
or Getae, nor was he face to face with one who was
only sovereign of a single island or of an inconsider-
able country, but he confronted one who was master
both of sea and land, at a time when his tyranny
was harsh and bitter ; and he took his stand against
the tyrant in behalf of the welfare of the subjects,
with the same spirit and purpose as he had taken
his stand against Nero.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

IV

CAP.
IV

Ἡγείσθω δ' οὖν τις ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἐκεῖνα, ἐπεὶ
μὴ ὁμόσε χωρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Βίνδικα ἐπιρρωννύς
καὶ τὸν Τιγελλῖνον ἐκπλήττων σαθροτέραν τὴν
τυραννίδα ἐποίει, καὶ τις ἀναφύεται λόγος ἀλαζῶν
ἐνταῦθα, ὥς οὐδὲν γενναῖον ἐπιθέσθαι Νέρωνι ψαλ-
τρίας τινὸς ἢ αὐλητρίδος βίον ζῶντι· ἀλλὰ περί γε
Δομετιανοῦ τί φήσουσιν ; ὃς τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔρρωτο,
ἡδονὰς δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐξ ὀργάνων τε καὶ κτύπων τὰς
τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἀπομαραινούσας παρητέιτο, τὰ δὲ
ἐτέρων ἄχῃ καὶ ὃ τι ὀλοφύraitό τις, ἐς τὸ εὐφραῖ-
νον εἶλκε, τὴν δ' ἀπιστίαν δῆμων μὲν ἐκάλει πρὸς
τοὺς τυράννους φυλακτῆριον, τυράννων δὲ πρὸς
πάντας, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πάντων μὲν ἔργων ἡξίου
παύειν βασιλέα, φόνων δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅθεν ἡκρω-
τηριάσθη μὲν ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους,
φιλοσοφία δὲ οὕτω τι ἔπτηξεν, ὥς ἀποβαλόντες
τὸ σχῆμα οἱ μὲν ἀποδρᾶναι σφῶν ἐς τὴν Κελτῶν
ἐσπέραν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα Λιβύης τε καὶ Σκυθίας,
ἔνιοι δ' ἐς λόγους ἀπενεχθῆναι ξυμβούλους τῶν
ἀμαρτημάτων. ὁ δ', ὥσπερ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ πεποιήται
πρὸς τὸν Οἰδίπουν ὁ Τειρεσίας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λέγων
οὐ γάρ τι σοὶ ζῶ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ Λοξία,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

IV

SOME may think that his attitude towards Nero was a mere bit of skirmishing, because he did not come to close quarters with him, but merely undermined his despotism by his encouragement of Vindex, and the terror with which he inspired Tigellinus. And there are certain braggarts here who foster the tale that it required no great courage to assail a man like Nero who led the life of a female harpist or flautist. But what, I would ask, have they to say about Domitian? For he was vigorous in body, and he abjured all those pleasures of music and song which wear away and soften down ferocity; and he took pleasure in the sufferings of others and in any lamentations they uttered. And he was in the habit of saying that distrust is the best safeguard of the people against their tyrants and of the tyrant against the multitude; and though he thought that a sovereign ought to rest from all hard work during the night, yet he deemed it the right season to begin murdering people in. And the result was that while the Senate had all its most distinguished members cut off, philosophy was reduced to cowering in a corner, to such an extent that some of its votaries disguised themselves by changing their dress and ran away to take refuge among the western Celts, while others fled to the deserts of Libya and Scythia, and others again stooped to compose orations in which his crimes were palliated. But Apollonius, like Tiresias, who is represented by Sophocles as addressing to Oedipus the words:

CHAP.

IV

Courage of
Apollonius
in facing
Domitian
as well as
Nero

‘For ’tis not in your slavery that I live, but in that
of Loxias;’ *Oedip. Tyr.* 410

CAP. IV. οὕτω τὴν σοφίαν δέσποιναν πεποιημένος ἐλεύθερος ἦν τῆς Δομετιανοῦ φορᾶς, τὰ Τειρεσίου τε καὶ Σοφοκλέους ἑαυτῷ ἐπιθεσπίσας καὶ δεδιὼς μὲν οὐδὲν ἴδιον, ἃ δὲ ἐτέρους ἀπώλλυ, ἐλεῶν, ὅθεν ξυνίστη ἐπ' αὐτὸν νεότητά τε, ὁπόσῃν ἡ βουλὴ εἶχε, καὶ ξύνεσιν, ὁπόσῃ περὶ ἐνίους αὐτῶν ἐωρᾶτο, φοιτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη καὶ φιλοσοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥς οὔτε ἀθάνατος ἡ τῶν τυράννων ἰσχὺς, αὐτῷ τε τῷ φοβεροὶ δοκεῖν ἀλίσκονται μᾶλλον. διῆει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ Παναθηναῖα τὰ Ἀττικά, ἐφ' οἷς Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἄδονται, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔργον, ὃ καὶ τριάκοντα ὁμοῦ τυράννους εἶλε, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων δὲ αὐτῶν διῆει πάτρια, ὥς κακεῖνοι δῆμος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες τὰς τυραννίδας ἐώθουν ὀπλοῖς.

V

CAP. V. Τραγωδίας δὲ ὑποκριτοῦ παρελθόντος ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰνοῖ τῷ δράματι, καὶ ἀκροωμένου τοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντος, ὃς καίτοι νέος ὢν φανερὸς ἐν ὑπάτοις ἀτολμότερον ὑπὲρ τούτων διενοεῖτο, ὁ μὲν ὑποκριτῆς ἐπέβαινε ἤδη τὰ ἱαμβεῖα, ἐν οἷς ὁ Εὐριπίδης διὰ μακρῶν αὐξηθέντας τοὺς τυράννους ἀλίσκεσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ μικρῶν, ἀναπηδήσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἀλλ' ὁ δειλός,” ἔφη, “οὗτος οὔτε Εὐριπίδου ξυνίησιν οὔτε ἐμοῦ.”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

chose wisdom as his mistress, and escaped scot free from paying tribute to Domitian. Applying to himself, as if it were an oracle, the verse of Tiresias and of Sophocles, and fearing nothing for himself, but only pitying the fate of others, he set himself to rally round him all the younger men of the Senate, and husband such intelligence as he saw discerned in many of them ; and he visited the provinces and in the name of philosophy he appealed to the governors, pointing out to them that the strength of tyrants is not immortal, and that the very fact of their being dreaded exposes them to defeat. And he also reminded them of the Panathenaic festival in Attica, at which hymns are sung in honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, and of the sally that was made from Phyle, when thirty tyrants at once were overthrown ; and he also reminded them of the ancient history of the Romans, and of how they too had originally been a democracy, after driving out despotism, arms in hand.

CHAP.
IV

V

AND on an occasion when a tragic actor visited Ephesus and came forward in the play called the Ino, and when the governor of Asia was one of the audience, a man who though still young and of distinguished rank among the consuls, was nevertheless very nervous about such matters, just as the actor finished the speech in which Euripides describes in his Iambics how tyrants after long growth of their power are destroyed by little causes, Apollonius leapt up and said : " But yonder coward understands neither Euripides nor myself."

CHAP.
V
Applauds
the Ino at
Ephesus

VI

CAP.
VI Καὶ μὲν καὶ λόγου ἀφικομένου, ὥς λαμπρὰν
κάθαρσιν εἶη Δομετιανὸς πεποιημένος τῆς Ῥω-
μαίων Ἑστίας, ἐπειδὴ τρεῖς τῶν Ἑστιάδων
ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπ' αἰτία τῆς ζώνης καὶ τῷ μὴ καθα-
ρεῦσαι γάμων, ἃς ἀγνῶς τὴν Ἰλιάδα Ἀθηναῖαν καὶ
τὸ ἐκεῖ πῦρ θεραπεύειν ἔδει, “ εἰ γὰρ καὶ σύ,” ἔφη,
“ καθαρθείης, Ἥλιε, τῶν ἀδίκων φόνων, ὧν πᾶσα
ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστή νῦν.” καὶ οὐδὲ ἰδίᾳ ταῦτα,
ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοί, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὁμίλῳ καὶ ἐς πάντας
ἐκήρυττέ τε καὶ ᾄχετο.

VII

CAP.
VII Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σαβῖνον ἀπεκτονῶς, ἓνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
ξυγγενῶν, Ἰουλίαν ἤγετο, ἥ δὲ Ἰουλία γυνὴ μὲν
ἦν τοῦ πεφονευμένου, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ ἀδελφιδῆ,
μία τῶν Τίτου θυγατέρων, ἔθυε μὲν ἡ Ἐφεσος
τοὺς γάμους, ἐπιστὰς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος,
“ ὦ νύξ,” ἔφη, “ τῶν πάλαι Δαναίδων, ὥς μία
ἦσθα.”

VIII

CAP.
VIII Καὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὧδε αὐτῷ ἐπράτ-
τετο· ἀρχῇ πρέπειν ἐδόκει Νερούας, ἥς μετὰ
158

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VI

WHEN moreover the news was brought how notable a purification of the goddess Vesta of the Romans Domitian had carried out, by putting to death three of the vestal virgins who had broken their vows and incurred the pollution of marriage, when it was their duty to minister in purity to the Athene of Ilium and to the fire which was worshipped in Rome, he exclaimed: "O Sun, would that thou too couldst be purified of the unjust murders with which the whole world is just now filled." Nor did he do all this in private, as a coward might, but proclaimed his sentiments and aspirations amidst the crowd and before all.

CHAP.

VI

Demonstrates in public against Domitian

VII

ON another occasion when after the murder of Sabinus, one of his own relations, Domitian was about to marry Julia, who was herself the wife of the murdered man, and Domitian's own niece, being one of the daughters of Titus, Ephesus was about to celebrate the marriage with sacrifice, only Apollonius interrupted the rites, by exclaiming: "O thou night of the Danaids of yore, how unique thou wast!"

CHAP.

VII

Domitian's marriage with Julia

VIII

THE following then is the history of his acts in Rome. Nerva was regarded as a proper candidate

CHAP.

VIII

CΑΡ.
 VIII Δομετιανὸν σωφρόνως ἤγνατο, ἣν δὲ καὶ περὶ
 "Ορφιτόν τε καὶ Ῥούφον ἢ αὐτὴ δόξα. τούτους
 Δομετιανὸς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἑαυτῷ φήσας, οἱ μὲν ἐς
 νήσους καθείρχθησαν, Νερούα δὲ προσέταξεν
 οἰκεῖν Τάραντα· ὧν δὲ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀπολ-
 λώνιος τὸν μὲν χρόνον, ὃν Τίτος ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ
 καὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἦρχεν, αἰεὶ τι ὑπὲρ σωφρο-
 σύνης ἐπέστελλε τοῖς ἀνδράσι, προσποιῶν αὐτοὺς
 τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὡς χρηστοῖς, Δομετιανοῦ δέ,
 ἐπεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, ἀφίστη τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ ὑπὲρ
 τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας ἐρρώννυ. τὰς μὲν δὴ
 ἐπιστολιμαίους ξυμβουλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς
 ᾔετο, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ δοῦλοι
 προὔδοσαν καὶ φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ οὐδὲν
 ἀπόρρητον ἐχώρησε τότε οἰκία, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ
 ἐταίρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπο-
 λαμβάνων, "διάκονον," εἶπεν ἄν, "ποιούμαί σε
 ἀπορρήτου λαμπροῦ· βαδίσαι δὲ χρή ἐς τὴν
 Ῥώμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναί οἱ καὶ
 γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πᾶν ὃ τι
 ἐγώ." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὁρμῆς μὲν
 ἐνδειξάμενοί τι ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον, ὅκνῳ δ' ἐκπε-
 σόντες ὧν διανοήθησαν, διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν
 καὶ ἀνάγκης περὶ τὸ νέμὸς τῆς Σμύρνης, ἐν ᾧ ὁ
 Μέλης.

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for the throne which after Domitian's death he occupied with so much wisdom, and the same opinion was entertained of Orphitus and of Rufus. Domitian accused the two latter of intriguing against himself, and they were confined in islands, while Nerva was commanded to live in Tarentum. Now Apollonius had been intimate with them all the time that Titus shared the throne with his father, and also reigned after his father's death; and he was in constant correspondence with them on the subject of self-control, being anxious to enlist them on the side of the sovereigns whose excellence of character he esteemed. But he did his best to alienate them from Domitian, on account of his cruelty, and encouraged them to espouse the cause of the freedom of all. Now it occurred to him that his epistles conveying advice to them were fraught with danger to them, for many of those who were in power were betrayed by their own slaves and friends and womenkind, and there was not at the time any house that could keep a secret; accordingly he would take now one and now another of the discreetest of his own companions, and say to them: "I have a brilliant secret to entrust to you; for you must betake yourself as my agent to Rome to so and so," mentioning the party, "and you must hold converse with him and do the utmost I could do to win him over." But when he heard that they were banished for having displayed a tendency to revolt against the tyrant, and yet had from timidity abandoned their plans, he delivered a discourse on the subject of the Fates and of Destiny in the grove of Smyrna in which stands the statue of the river Meles.

CHAP.
VIII

Apollonius' relations with Nerva

IX

CAP.
IX

Εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν Νερούαν ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἄρξει, διήγει τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅτι μὴδ' οἱ τύραννοι τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν οἷοι βιάζεσθαι, χαλκῆς τε εἰκόνας ἰδρύνει Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλῃτι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, “ἀνόητε,” εἶπεν, “ὥς πολὺ διαμαρτάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· ὃ γὰρ μετὰ σέ τι τυραννεῦσαι πέπρωται, τοῦτον καὶ ἀποκτείνης, ἀναβιώσεται.” ταῦτα ἐς Δομετιανὸν ἀφίκετο ἐκ διαβολῶν Εὐφράτου, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅτου μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐχρησμάδει αὐτά, οὐδεὶς ξυνίει, τιθέμενος δὲ ὁ τύραννος εὖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φόβον ὥρμησεν ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὡς δὲ μὴ ἔξω λόγου πράττων αὐτὸ φαίνοιτο, ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπολογοησόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπορρήτων. ἡ γὰρ ἀφικομένου καταψηφισάμενος οὐδὲ ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτονέειν δόξειν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἐαλωκότας, ἢ εἰ σοφία τινὶ τοῦ φανεροῦ ὑπεξέλθοι, μᾶλλον ἤδη ἀπολεῖσθαι σφᾶς ὡς κατεψηφισμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινωνοῦ τῆς αἰτίας.

X

CAP.
X

Διανοουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα καὶ γράφοντος ἤδη πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντα, ὡς ξυλληφείη

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

IX

AND being aware that Nerva would before long become sovereign, he went on to explain in his oration that not even tyrants are able to force the hand of destiny, and directing the attention of his audience to the brazen statue of Domitian which had been erected close by that of Meles, he said: "Thou fool, how much art thou mistaken in thy views of Destiny and Fate. For even if thou shouldst slay the man who is fated to be despot after thyself, he shall come to life again." This saying was reported to Domitian by the malevolence of Euphrates, and though no one knew to which of the personages above mentioned this oracle applied, yet the despot in order to allay his fears determined to put them to death. But in order that he might seem to have an excuse for doing so, he summoned Apollonius before him to defend himself on the charge of holding secret relations with them. For he considered that if he came, he could get a sentence pronounced against him, and so avoid the imputation of having put people to death without trial, seeing that they would have been convicted through Apollonius, or in the alternative case, if the latter by some ruse avoided an open trial, then the fate of the others would all the more certainly be sealed, because sentence would have been passed on them by their own accomplice.

CHAP.
IX
His
discourse
at Smyrna
on the
Fates

Domitian
requires
Apollonius
to clear
himself of
charge of
rebellion

X

MOVED by these considerations Domitian had already written to the governor of Asia, directing

CHAP.
X

CAP. X. τε καὶ ἀναχθείη, προεῖδε μὲν ὁ Τυανεὺς πάντα δαιμονίως τε καὶ ὥσπερ εἰώθει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐταίρους εἰπὼν δεῖσθαι ἀποδημίας ἀπορρήτου, τοὺς μὲν ἐσῆλθεν Ἀβάριδος τοῦ ἀρχαίου δόξα, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τοιόνδε τι ὥρμήκοι, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῷ Δάμιδι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν ἐκφήνας, ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔπλει, Κορίνθου δὲ ἐπιβὰς καὶ τῷ Ἡλίῳ περὶ μεσημβρίαν ὅποσα εἰώθει δράσας, ἀφήκεν ἐς τὸ Σικελῶν καὶ Ἰταλῶν ἔθνος ἅμα ἐσπέρα. τυχὼν δὲ οὐρίου πνεύματος καὶ τινος εὐροίας ὑποδραμούσης τὸ πέλαγος ἀφίκετο ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν πεμπταῖος. Δημητρίῳ δὲ ἐντυχὼν, ὃς ἐδόκει θαρσαλεώτατος τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἐπεὶ μὴ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης διητάτο, ξυνίει μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐξεστηκότος τῷ τυράννῳ, διατριβῆς δὲ ἔνεκα, “εἴληφά σε,” εἶπε, “τρυφῶντα καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἰταλίας, εἰ δὲ εὐδαίμων, τὸ μακαριώτατον οἰκοῦντα, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς Καλυψοῖ ξυνὼν ἐκλαθέσθαι καπνοῦ Ἰθακησίου καὶ οἴκου.” περιβαλὼν δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ τι καὶ ἐπευφημήσας, “ὦ θεοί,” ἔφη, “τί πείσεται φιλοσοφία κινδυνεύουσα περὶ ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ;” “κινδυνεύει δέ,” εἶπε, “τί;” “ἄγε,” ἔφη, “προειδὼς ἤκεις· εἰ γὰρ τὸν σὸν ἀγνωῶ νοῦν, οὐδὲ τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ οἶδα. διαλεγώμεθα δὲ μὴ ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ’ ἴωμεν οὐ μόνων ἡμῶν ἢ ξυνουσία ἔσται, παρατυγχανέτω δὲ καὶ ὁ Δάμις, ὃν ἐγώ, νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, Ἰόλεων ἡγοῦμαι τῶν σῶν ἄθλων.”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

the man of Tyana to be arrested and brought to Rome, when the latter foreseeing in his usual way through a divine instinct what was coming, told his companions that he needed to depart on a mysterious voyage; and they were reminded of the opinion enunciated by Abaris of old, and felt that he was intent upon some such scheme. Apollonius however, without revealing his intention even to Damis, set sail in his company for Achaea, and having landed at Corinth and worshipped the Sun about midday, with his usual rites, embarked in the evening for Sicily and Italy. And falling in with a favourable wind and a good current that ran in his direction, he reached Dicaearchia on the fifth day. There he met Demetrius who passed for being the boldest of the philosophers, simply because he did not live far away from Rome, and knowing that he was really to get out of the way of the tyrant, he said by way of amusing himself: "I have caught you in your luxury, dwelling here in the most blessed part of happy Italy, if indeed she be happy, here where Odysseus is said to have forgotten in the company of Calypso the smoke of his Ithacan home." Thereupon Demetrius embraced him and after sundry pious ejaculations said: "O ye gods, what will come upon philosophy, if she risks the loss of such a man as yourself?" "And what risks does she run?" asked he. "Those surely, a foreknowledge of which brought you here," said the other; "for if I do not know what is in your mind, then I do not know what is in my own. But let us not conduct our conversation here, but let us retire where we can talk together alone, and let only Damis be present whom, by Hercules, I am inclined to consider an Iolaus of your labours."

CHAP.

X

Apollonius
forestalls
summons
and sets
out for
Rome

Meets with
Demetrius

XI

CAP.
XI

"Αγει δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐς τὸ Κικέρωνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ χωρίον, ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τῷ ἄστει. ἰζησάντων δὲ ὑπὸ πλατάνω οἱ μὲν τέττιγες ὑποψαλλούσης αὐτοὺς τῆς αὔρας ἐν ᾧδαῖς ἦσαν, ἀναβλέψας δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος, "ὦ μακάριοι," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοί, ὡς ἐδίδαξαν τε ὑμῖς ᾧδὴν ἄρα Μοῦσαι μήπω ἐς δίκας ἢ διαβολὰς ὑπαχθεῖσαν, γαστρός τε κρείττους ἐποίησαν καὶ ἀνώκισαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου φθόνου ἐς ταυτὶ τὰ δένδρα, ἐφ' ὧν ὄλβιοι τὴν ἐφ' ὑμῶν τε καὶ Μουσῶν εὐδαιμονίαν ἄδετε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνίει μὲν οἱ τείνει ταῦτα, διαβαλὼν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἀργότερα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, "εἶτα," εἶπε, "τεττίγων βουληθεὶς διελθεῖν ἐπαινον, οὐκ ἐς τὸ φανερόν διήεις αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα πτήξας, ὥσπερ δημοσίᾳ κειμένου νόμου μηδένα ἐπαινεῖν τέττιγας;" "οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐπαίνου," ἔφη, "ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὅτι τούτοις μὲν ἀνεῖται τὰ αὐτῶν μουσεῖα, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδὲ γρύξαι συγγνώμη, ἀλλ' ἔγκλημα ἢ σοφία εὔρηται, καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἀνύτου καὶ Μελήτου γραφὴ "Σωκράτης," φησὶν, "ἀδικεῖ διαφθείρων τοὺς νέους καὶ δαιμόνια καινὰ ἐπεσάγων, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὕτως γράφονται· ἀδικεῖ ὁ δεῖνα σοφὸς ὢν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ξυνιεὶς μὲν θεῶν, ξυνιεὶς

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XI

WITH these words, Demetrius led them to the villa in which Cicero lived of old, and it is close by the city. There they sat down under a plane tree where the grasshoppers were chirping to the soft music of the summer's breeze, when Demetrius glancing up at them, remarked: "O ye blessed insects and unfeignedly wise, it would seem then that the Muses have taught you a song which is neither actionable, nor likely to be informed against; and they made you superior to all wants of the belly, and settled you far above all human envy to live in these trees, on which you sit and sing in your blessedness about your own and the Muses' prerogative of happiness." Now Apollonius understood the drift of this apostrophe, but it jarred upon him as inconsistent with the strenuous professions of his friend, "It seems then," he said, "that, though you only wanted to sing the praises of the grasshoppers, you could not do it openly, but come cowering hither, as if there were a public law against anyone praising the grasshoppers." "I said what I did," he replied, "not by way of praising them, but of signifying that while they are left unmolested in their concert halls, we are not allowed even to mutter; for wisdom has been rendered a penal offence. And whereas the indictment of Anytus and Meletus ran: Socrates commits wrong in corrupting youth and introducing a new religion, we are indicted in such terms as these: So and so commits wrong by being wise and just and gifted with understanding of the gods no less than of men, and with a wide

CHAP.

XI

Their talk
at Cicero's
villa

Domitian's
persecution
of philoso-
phers

CAP
XI

δὲ ἀνθρώπων, νόμων τε περί πολλὰ εἰδώς. σὺ δ', ὅσῳ περ ἡμῶν σοφώτατος, τοσοῦτῳ, σοφωτέρα κατηγορία ἐπὶ σὲ εὔρηται· βούλεται γάρ σε Δομετιανὸς μετέχειν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἐφ' οἷς Νερούας τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ φεύγουσι.” “φεύγουσι δ',” ἦ δ' ὅς, “ἐπὶ τῷ;” “ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ γε,” ἔφη, “τῶν νῦν αἰτιῶν, ὡς δοκεῖ τῷ διώκοντι· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ πηδῶντας ἡρηκέναι, σὲ δὲ ἐξορμήσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς ταῦτα παῖδα, οἷμαι, τεμόντα.” “μὲν,” ἔφη, “ὡς ὑπ' εὐνούχου ἢ ἀρχὴ καταλυθείη;” “οὐ τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “συκοφαντούμεθα, φασὶ δ', ὡς παῖδα θύσαις ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς, ἣν τὰ νεαρὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων φαίνει, πρόσκειται δὲ τῇ γραφῇ καὶ περὶ ἀμπεχόνης καὶ διαίτης καὶ τὸ ἔστιν ὑφ' ὧν προσκυνεῖσθαί σε. ταυτὶ γὰρ Τελεσίνου ἤκουον ἀνδρὸς ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ ἐπιτηδείου.” “ἔρμαιον,” εἶπεν, “εἰ Τελεσίνῳ ἐντευξόμεθα, λέγεις γάρ που τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὃς ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ἐν ὑπάτοις ἠρξεν.” “ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “λέγω, ξυγγένοιο δ' ἂν αὐτῷ τίνα τρόπον; αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ὑποπτότεραι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀξίᾳ πάντας, ἣν ἐς κοινὸν ἴωσι λόγον τοῖς ἐν οἷα σὺ νῦν αἰτία, Τελεσίνος δὲ καὶ τῷ κηρύγματι ὑπεξῆλθεν, ὃ κεκήρυκται νῦν ἐς φιλοσοφίαν πᾶσαν, ἀσπασάμενος μᾶλλον τὸ φεύγειν ὥς φιλόσοφος ἢ τὸ ὡς ὑπατος μένειν.” “μὴ κιν-

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knowledge of the laws. And as for yourself, so far forth as you are cleverer and wiser than the rest of us, so much the more cleverly is the indictment against you drawn up: for Domitian intends to implicate you in the charges for which Nerva and his associates are banished." "But for what crime," said Apollonius, "are they banished?" "For what is reckoned by the persecutor to be the greatest of latter-day crimes. He says that he has caught these persons in the act of trying to usurp his throne, and accuses you of instigating their attempt by mutilating, I think, a boy." "What, as if it were by an eunuch that I want his empire overthrown?" "It is not that," he replied, "of which we are falsely accused; but they declare that you sacrificed a boy to divine the secrets of futurity which are to be learned from an inspection of youthful entrails; and in the indictment your dress and manner of life are also impugned, and the fact of your being an object of worship to some. This then is what I have heard from our Telesinus, no less your intimate than mine." "What luck," exclaimed Apollonius, "if we could meet Telesinus: for I suppose you mean the philosopher who held consular rank in the reign of Nero." "The same," he said, "but how are you to come across him? For despots are doubly suspicious of any man of rank, should they find him holding communication with people who lie under such an accusation as you do. And Telesinus, moreover, gave way quietly before the edict which has lately been issued against philosophers of every kind, because he preferred to be in exile as a philosopher, to remaining in Rome as a consul." "I would not have him run any risks

CHAP.
XI

The charges
against
Apollonius

Telesinus
the Consul
friendly
to philoso-
phers

CAP. ^{XI} δυνεύετω,” εἶπεν, “ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐμοῦγε ἔνεκα, ἱκανῶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας κινδυνεύει.

XII

CAP. ^{XII} “Ἄλλ’ ἐκείνό μοι εἰπέ, Δημήτριά, τί δοκῶ σοι λέγων ἢ τί πράττων εὖ θήσεσθαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φόβον;” “μὴ παίζων,” ἔφη, “μηδέ, ἂ δέδιας, φοβεῖσθαι λέγων, εἰ γὰρ φοβερὰ ἡγοῦ ταῦτα, καὶ ὥχου ἀποδρὰς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον.” “σὺ δ’ ἂν ἀπέδρας,” εἶπεν, “εἰ περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ ἐκινδύνεες;” “οὐκ ἄν,” ἔφη, “μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, εἴ τις ἐδίκασε, τὸ δ’ ἄνευ δίκης καὶ ὁ μὴδ’, εἰ ἀπολογοίμην, ἀκροασόμενος ἢ ἀκροασόμενος μέν, ἀποκτενῶν δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα. οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγ’ οὖν ξυνεχώρησας ἐλέσθαι ποτὲ ψυχρὸν οὕτω καὶ ἀνδραποδώδη θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφία προσήκοντος· φιλοσοφία δέ, οἶμαι, προσήκει ἢ πόλιν ἐλευθεροῦντα ἀποθανεῖν ἢ γονεῦσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ξυγγενείᾳ ἀμύνοντα ἢ ὑπὲρ φίλων ἀγωνιζόμενον, οἱ ξυγγενείας αἰρετώτεροι σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἢ οἱ ἡμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος. τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπ’ ἀληθείᾳ κεκομψευμένοις δ’ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν τῷ τυράννῳ σοφῶ δόξαι, πολλῶ βαρύτερον ἢ εἴ τις, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα, μετέωρος ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κνάμπτοιτό. σοὶ δὲ ἀγῶνος οἶμαι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

on my account anyhow," said Apollonius, "for the CHAP.
risks he runs in behalf of philosophy are serious XI
enough.

XII

"BUT tell me this, Demetrius, what do you think CHAP.
I had better say or do in order to allay my own XII
fears?" "You had better not trifle," said the other,
"nor pretend to be afraid of what you do not dread;
for if you really thought these accusations dangerous,
you would have been away by now and evaded the
necessity of defending yourself from them." "And
would you run away," said Apollonius, "if you were
placed in the same danger as myself?" "I would not,"
he replied, "I swear by Athene, if there were some one
to judge me; but in fact there is no fair trial, and if I
did offer a defence, no one would even listen to me; or
if I were listened to, I should be slain all the more
certainly because I was known to be innocent. You
would not, I suppose, care to see me choose so cold-
blooded and slavish a death as that, rather than one
which befits a philosopher. And I imagine it behoves
a philosopher to die in the attempt either to liberate
his city or to protect his parents and children and
brothers and other kinsfolk, or to die struggling for
his friends, who in the eyes of the wise are more
precious than mere kinsfolk or for favourites that
have been purchased by love. But to be put to death
not for true reasons, but for fancy ones, and to furnish
the tyrant with a pretext for being considered wise, is
much worse and more grievous than to be bowed and
bent high in the sky on a wheel, as they say Ixion
was. But it seems to me the very fact of your coming

CAP.
XII

ἄρξειν αὐτὸ τὸ ἥκειν ἐνταῦθα, σὺ μὲν γὰρ τῷ τῆς
 γνώμης ὑγιαίνουντι προστίθης τοῦτο καὶ τῷ μὴ ἀ-
 θαρρῆσαι τὴν δεῦρο ὁδόν, εἴ τι ἡδίκηεις, Δομετιανῶν
 δὲ οὐ δόξεις, ἀλλ' ἀπόρρητόν τινα ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα
 θρασέως ἐρρώσθαι. τὸ γὰρ καλοῦντος μέν, οὐ πα-
 ρὸν ἡμέραι δέκα, ὥς φασι, σὲ δ' ἀφίχθαι πρὸς τὴν
 κρίσιν οὐδ' ἀκηκοότα πω, ὥς κριθήσῃ, νοῦν τῆς
 κατηγορίας δώσει, προγιγνώσκων γὰρ ἂν φαίνοιτο
 καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἰσχύσει. καὶ ὅρα
 μὴ τὰ περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐ-
 Ἰουνία διεिलέχθαι σέ φασιν, ἐπὶ σέ ἦκη, καὶ
 βουλομένης τι τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἄτοπον, σὺ δὲ
 ἠναγκασμένος χωρῆς ἐπ' αὐτό, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὥς σοφώ-
 τερον αἰεὶ τὸ φυλάττεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκλέλῃσαι
 τῶν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, οἷσθά που τοῦμὸν καὶ ὅτι μὴ
 ἀνελεύθερος ἐγὼ πρὸς θάνατον. ἀλλ' εἶχέ τι
 ῥαστώνης ἐκεῖνα· Νέρωνα γὰρ ἢ κιθάρα τοῦ μὲν
 προσφόρου βασιλείᾳ σχήματος ἐδόκει ἐκκρούειν, τὸ
 δὲ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἤρμοττεν, ἦγε γάρ τινας πολ-
 λάκις δι' αὐτὴν ἐκεχειρίας, καὶ ἀπείχετο τῶν
 φόνων· ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε καίτοι τὸ ξίφος ἐπὶ
 ἑμαυτὸν ἔλκοντα διὰ τοὺς σους τε καὶ τοὺς λόγους
 οὓς ἐπὶ τῷ βαλανείῳ διῆλθον, αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦ μὴ
 ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ τὴν εὐφωνίαν αὐτῷ ἐπιδοῦναι τότε
 καὶ τό, ὥς ᾔετο, μελωδίας λαμπρᾶς ἄψασθαι
 νυνὶ δὲ τίνι μὲν εὐφωνία, τίνι δὲ κιθάρα θύσομεν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

ere will be the beginning of your trial ; for though you may attribute your journey hither to your quiet conscience, and to the fact that you would have never ventured upon it if you were guilty, Domitian will credit you with nothing of the kind ; but will merely believe that you ventured on so hardy a course because you possess some mysterious power. For think, ten days, they say, have not elapsed since you were cited to appear, and you turn up at the court, without even having heard as yet that you were to undergo a trial. Will not that be tantamount to justifying the accusation, for everyone will think that you foreknew the event, and the story about the boy will gain credit therefrom ? And take care that the discourse which they say you delivered about the Fates and Necessity in Ionia does not come true of yourself ; and that, in case destiny has some cruelty in store, you are not marching straight to meet it with your hands tied, just because you won't see that discretion is the better part of valour. And if you have not forgotten the affairs of Nero's reign, you will remember your own case, and that I showed no coward's dread of death. But then one gained some respite : for although Nero's harp was ill attuned to the dignity that befits a king, and clashed therewith, yet in other ways its music harmonised his mood not unpleasantly with ours, for he was often induced thereby to grant a truce to his victims, and stay his murderous hand. At any rate he did not slay me, although I attracted his sword to myself as much by your discourses as by my own, which were delivered against the bath ; and the reason why he did not slay me was that just then his voice improved, and he achieved, as he thought, a very brilliant melody. But where's the royal

CHAP.

XII

Demetrius predicts danger for Apollonius and exhorts him to flee

CAP.
XII

ἄμουσα γὰρ καὶ μεστὰ χολῆς πάντα, καὶ οὐτ' ἂν
 ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅδε οὐτ' ἂν ὑφ' ἑτέρων θελχθείη.
 καίτοι Πίνδαρος ἐπαινῶν τὴν λύραν φησίν, ὥς καὶ
 τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος θυμὸν θέλγει καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν
 ἴσχει αὐτόν, οὐτοσὶ δέ, καίτοι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν
 καταστησάμενος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ στεφανῶν δημοσίᾳ
 τοὺς νικῶντας, ἔστιν οὗς καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν,
 ὕστατά φασι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν αὐλήσαντάς τε
 καὶ ἄσαντας. βουλευτέα δέ σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν, προσάπολεις γὰρ καὶ κείνους ἢ θρασυὺς
 δόξας ἢ εἰπών, ἃ μὴ πείσεις. ἡ σωτηρία δέ σοι
 παρὰ πόδα· τῶν γὰρ νεῶν τούτων, πολλὰ δ', ὥς
 ὀρᾷς, εἰσὶν, αἱ μὲν ἐς Λιβύην ἀφήσουσιν, αἱ δ' ἐς
 Αἴγυπτον, αἱ δ' ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον, αἱ δ'
 εὐθὺ Σαρδοῦς, αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ Σαρδώ μιᾶς ἐπιβάντι
 σοι κομίζεσθαι κράτιστον ἐς ὀτιδὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν
 τούτων, αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ἡττον χαλεπαὶ τοῖς
 φανεροῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἢν ἐπαινοῦντας αἰσθωνται
 τὸ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ ζῆν."

XIII

CAP.
XIII

Ἡττηθεὶς δ' ὁ Δάμις τῶν τοῦ Δημητρίου λόγων,
 “ἀλλὰ σύ γε,” ἔφη, “φίλος ἀνδρὶ παρὼν γέμοις
 ἂν ἀγαθόν τι τούτῳ μέγα, ἐμοῦ γὰρ σμικρὸς λόγος.
 εἰ συμβουλευοίμι αὐτῷ μὴ κυβιστᾶν ἐς ὀρθὰ ξίφη.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

nightingale, and where the harp to which we can CHAP.
to-day make our peace offerings? For the outlook XII
of to-day is unredeemed by music, and full of spleen;
and this tyrant is as little likely to be charmed by him-
self, as by other people. It is true that Pindar says
in praise of the lyre, that it charms the savage breast
of Ares, and stays his hand from war; but this ruler,
although he has established a musical contest in Rome,
and offers a public crown for those who win therein,
nevertheless slew several of the people who, so I hear,
piped and sang in his last musical contest. And you
should also consider our friends and their safety, for
you will certainly ruin them as well as yourself, if you
make a show of being brave, or use arguments which
will not be listened to. But your life lies within
your reach; for here are ships, you see how many
there are, some about to sail for Libya, others for
Egypt, others for Phoenicia and Cyprus, others direct
to Sardinia, others still for places beyond Sardinia.
It were best for you to embark on one of these, and
betake yourself to one or another of these provinces;
for the hand of tyranny is less heavy upon dis-
tinguished men, if it perceives that they only desire
to live quietly and not put themselves forward."

XIII

DAMIS was so impressed by the arguments of CHAP.
Demetrius that he exclaimed: "Well, you anyhow XIII
are a friend and by your presence you can do a very The appre-
great service to my master here. As for me, I am hensions
of little account, and if I advised him not to throw of Damis
somersaults upon naked swords, nor expose himself to

μηδ' ἀναρριπτεῖν πρὸς τυραννίδα, ἥς οὐ χαλεπώ-
 τέρα ἐνομίσθη. τῆς γοῦν ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐνταῦθα, εἰ μή
 σοι ξυνέτυχον, οὐδὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐρίγνωσκον, ἔπομαι
 μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ θᾶπτον ἢ ἑαυτῷ τις, εἰ δὲ ἔροιό με,
 ποῖ πλέω ἢ ἐφ' ὃ τι, καταγέλαστος ἐγὼ τοῦ πλοῦ
 Σικελικὰ μὲν πελάγη καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς κόλπους ἀνα-
 μετρῶν, οὐκ εἰδὼς δέ, ὑπὲρ ὅτου. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ
 προρρήσεως ἐκινδύνευον, εἶχον ἂν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρω-
 τῶντας λέγειν, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν θανάτου ἐρᾷ,
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀντεραστῆς ξυμπλέω. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν οἶδα,
 ἐμὸν ἤδη λέγειν, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἶδα, λέξω δὲ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ ἀνδρός· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι, οὐπω δεινὰ
 φιλοσοφία πείσεται, σκευοφόρῳ γὰρ εἵκασμαι
 στρατιώτου γενναίου, λόγου ἀξιούμενος, ὅτι τοιῷδε
 ἔπομαι, εἰ δὲ ἔσται τις, ὃς ἀποκτενεῖ τοῦτον,
 εὖποροι δ' αἱ τυραννίδες τὰ μὲν ξυνθεῖναι, τὰ δὲ
 ἐξᾶραι, τρόπαιον μὲν οἶμαι κατὰ φιλοσοφίας
 ἐστήξει σφαλείσης περὶ τῷ ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων
 φιλοσοφήσαντι, πολλοὶ δὲ Ἄνυτοι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ
 Μέλητοι, γραφαὶ δ' αἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, αἱ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Ἀπολλωνίῳ ξυγγενομένους, ὡς ὁ μὲν τις
 ἐγέλασε καθαπτομένου τῆς τυραννίδος, ὁ δ' ἐπέρ-
 ρωσε λέγοντα, ὁ δ' ἐνέδωκε λέξαι τι, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθε

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

risks with tyrants, than whom none were ever yet deemed harsher, he would not listen to me. As a matter of fact I should never have known, if I had not met you, what he meant by his journey hither; for I follow him more readily, more blindly, than another man would follow himself; and if you asked me where I am bound or for what, I should merely excite your laughter by telling you that I was traversing the seas of Sicily and the bays of Etruria, without knowing in the least why I took ship. And if only I were courting these dangers after I had received open warning, I could then say to those who asked me the question, that Apollonius was courting death, and that I was accompanying him on board ship because I was his rival in his passion. But as I know nothing of this matter, it's time for me to speak of what I do know; and I will say it in the interests of my master. For if I were put to death, it would not do much harm to philosophy, for I am like the esquire of some distinguished soldier, and am only entitled to consideration because I am of his suite. But if someone is going to be set on to slay him, and tyrants find it easy to contrive plots and to remove obstacles from their path, then I think a regular trophy will have been raised over the defeat of philosophy in the person of the noblest of her human representatives; and as there are many people lurking in our path, such as were Anytus and Meletus, writs of information will be scattered from all quarters at once against the companions of Apollonius; one will be accused of having laughed when his master attacked tyranny, another of having encouraged him to talk, a third of having suggested to him a topic to talk about, a fourth of having left

CHAP.
XIII

CAP.
XIII

ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ὧν ἤκουσεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀποθνήσκειν μὲν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας οὕτω φημι δεῖν, ὥς ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ τειχῶν καὶ τάφων, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας γὰρ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ ἄνδρες ἀποθανεῖν ἡσπάζοντο, ὥς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι φιλοσοφίαν μήτε ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι μήτε ὅστις ἐκείνης τε καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐρά.

XIV

CAP.
XIV

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ Δάμιδι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων εὐλαβῶς διειλεγμένῳ ξυγγνώμην,” ἔφη, “ προσήκει ἔχειν, Ἀσσύριος γὰρ ὧν καὶ Μήδοις προσοικήσας, οὐ τὰς τυραννίδας προσκυνοῦσιν, οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐνθυμεῖται μέγα, σὺ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἀπολογήσῃ, φόβους ὑποτιθείς, ὧν, εἴ τι καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐφαίνετο, ἀπάγειν ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον ἢ ἔσω καθιστάναι τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν μηδ' ἂ παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἦν δεδιότα. σοφὸς δ' ἀνὴρ ἀποθνησκέτω μὲν ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶπας, ἀποθάνοι δ' ἂν τις ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ μὴ σοφός, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν νόμῳ προστέτακται, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ ξυγγενείας ἢ φίλων ἢ παιδικῶν φύσις ὥρισε. δουλοῦνται δὲ ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους φύσις καὶ νόμος, φύσις μὲν καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

his lecture-room with praise on his lips for what he had heard. I admit that one ought to die in the cause of philosophy in the sense of dying for one's temples, one's own walls, and one's sepulchres; for there are many famous heroes who have embraced death in order to save and protect such interests as those; but I pray that neither I myself may die in order to bring about the ruin of philosophy, and that no one else either may die for such an object who loves philosophy and loves Apollonius." CHAP. XIII

XIV

APOLLONIUS answered thus: "We must make allowance for the very timid remarks which Damis has made about the situation; for he is a Syrian and lives on the border of Media, where tyrants are worshipped, and where no one entertains a lofty ideal of freedom; but as for yourself, I do not see how you can defend yourself at the bar of philosophy from the charge of trumping up fears, from which, even if there were really any reason for them, you ought to try to wean him; instead of doing so you try to plunge into terror a man who is only too inclined to tremble at imaginary dangers. I would indeed have a wise man sacrifice his life for the objects you have mentioned, but any man without being wise would equally die for them; for it is an obligation of law that we should die in behalf of our freedom, and an injunction of nature that we should die in behalf of our kinsfolk or of our friends or darlings. Now all men are the slaves of nature and of law; the willing slaves of nature, as the unwilling

CHAP. XIV

Apollonius
expostu-
lates with
Demetrius
for his
cowardice

CAP.
XIV

ἐκόντας, νόμος δὲ ἄκοντας· σοφοῖς δὲ οἰκειότερον
τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπετήδευσαν· ἃ γὰρ μὴ νόμου
ἐπιτάξαντος, μηδὲ φύσεως ξυντεκούσης, αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ
ῥώμης τε καὶ θράσους ἐμελέτησαν, ὑπὲρ τούτων,
εἰ καταλύοι τις αὐτά, ἴτω μὲν πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν σοφόν,
ἴτω δὲ πέλεκυς, ὥς νικήσει αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τούτων,
οὐδὲ ἐς ότιοῦν περιελᾷ ψεύδος, καθέξει δέ, ὅποσα
οἶδε, μείον οὐδὲν ἢ ἃ ἐμυήθη. ἐγὼ δὲ γιγνώσκω μὲν
πλείστα ἀνθρώπων, ἅτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὧν
οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίοις, τὰ δὲ σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ
ἐμαντῶ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς, τυράννοις δὲ οὐδέν. ὥς δὲ
οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀνοήτων ἤκω, σκοπεῖν ἔξεστιν· ἐγὼ γὰρ
περὶ μὲν τῷ ἐμαντοῦ σώματι κινδυνεύω οὐδέν, οὐδ'
ἀποθάνοιμ' ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος, οὐδ' εἰ αὐτὸς
βουλοίμην, ξυνίημι δὲ κινδυνεύων περὶ τοῖς
ἀνδράσιν, ὧν εἴτε ἀρχὴν εἴτε προσθήκην ποιεῖται
με ὁ τύραννος, εἰμὶ πᾶν ὅ τι βούλεται. εἰ δὲ
προϋδίδουν σφᾶς ἢ βραδύνων ἢ βλακεύων πρὸς
τὴν αἰτίαν, τίς ἂν τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἔδοξα; τίς δ'
οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με εἰκότως, ὥς παίζοντα ἐς
ἄνδρας, οἷς, ἃ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἦτουν, ἀνετέθη; ὅτι
δ' οὐκ ἦν μοι διαφυγεῖν τὸ μὴ οὐ προδότης δόξαι,
δηλῶσαι βούλομαι.

Τυραννίδων ἦθη διττά, αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκρίτους
ἀποκτείνουσιν, αἱ δὲ ὑπαχθέντας δικαστηρίοις,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

ones of law. But it is the duty of the wise in a still higher degree to lay down their lives for tenets they have embraced. Here are interests which neither law has laid upon us, nor nature planted in us from birth, but to which we have devoted ourselves out of mere strength of character and courage. In behalf therefore of these, should anyone try to violate them, let the wise man pass through fire, let him bare his neck to the axe, for he will not be overcome by any such threats, nor driven to any sort of subterfuge; but he will cleave to all he knows as firmly as if it were a religion in which he had been initiated. As for myself, I am acquainted with more than other human beings, for I know all things, and what I know, I know partly for good men, partly for wise ones, partly for myself, partly for the gods, but for tyrants nothing. But that I am not come on any fool's errand, you can see if you will; for I run no risk of my life myself, nor shall I die at the hands of a despot, however much I might wish to do so; but I am aware that I am running a risk in connection with persons of whom the tyrant may accuse me of being either the leader or the accomplice; let me be whatever he likes, I am content. But if I were to betray them by holding back or by cowardly refusal to face the accusation, what would good men think of me? Who would not justly slay me, for playing with the lives of men to whom was entrusted everything I had besought of heaven? And I would like to point out to you, that I could not possibly escape the reputation of being a traitor.

“For there are two kinds of tyrants; the one kind put their victims to death without trial, the other after they have been brought before a court of law.

CHAP.
XIV

CAP.
XIV

εοίκασι δ' αἱ μὲν τοῖς θερμοῖς τε καὶ ἐτοίμοις τῶν θηρίων, αἱ δὲ τοῖς μαλακωτέροις τε καὶ λιθάργοις. ὥς μὲν δὴ χαλεπαὶ ἄμφω, δῆλον πᾶσι παράδειγμα ποιουμένοις τῆς μὲν ὀρμώσης καὶ ἀκρίτου Νέρωνα, τῆς δὲ ὑποκαθημένης Τιβέριον, ἀπώλλυσαν γὰρ ὁ μὲν οὐδ' οἰηθέντας, ὁ δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ δείσαντας. ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι χαλεπωτέρας τὰς δικάζειν προσποιουμένας καὶ ψηφίσσθαι τι ὡς ἐκ τῶν νόμων, πράττουσι μὲν γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐδέν, ψηφίζονται δ', ἅπερ οἱ μηδὲν κρίναντες, ὄνομα τῷ διατρίβοντι τῆς ὀργῆς θέμενοι νόμον, τὸ δ' ἀποθνήσκειν κατεψηφισμένους ἀφαιρεῖται τοὺς ἀθλίους καὶ τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἔλεον, ὃν ὥσπερ ἐντάφιον χρή ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς ἀδίκως ἀπελθοῦσι. δικαστικὸν μὲν δὴ τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ταύτης ὀρῶ σχῆμα, τελευτᾶν δέ μοι δοκεῖ ἐς ἄκριτον, ὧν γὰρ πρὶν ἢ δικάσαι κατεψηφίσατο, τούτους ὡς μήπω δεδικασμένους ὑπάγει τῇ κρίσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ψήφῳ ἁλοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ δῆλον ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ νόμους κρίναντος ἀπολωλέναι φησὶν, ὁ δ' ἐκλιπὼν τὸ δικάσασθαι πῶς ἂν διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐψηφίσθαι; τὸ δὲ καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀνδρῶν κειμένων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἀποδρᾶναι τὸν ἑμαυτοῦ τε καὶ κείνων ἀγῶνα, ποῖ μέ τῆς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

The former kind resemble the more passionate and prompt of wild beasts, the other kind resemble the gentler and more lethargic ones. That both kinds are cruel is clear to everybody who takes Nero as an example of the impetuous disposition which does not trouble about legal forms, Tiberius, on the other hand, of the tardy and sluggish nature; for the former destroyed his victims before they had any suspicion of what was coming, and the other after he had tortured them with long drawn out terror. For myself I consider those the crueller who make a pretence of legal trial, and of getting a verdict pronounced in accordance with the law; for in reality they set them at defiance, and bring in the same verdict as they would have done without any real trial, giving the name of law to that which merely ekes out their own spleen. The very fact of their being put to death in legal form does but deprive the wretches so condemned to death of that compassion on the part of the crowd, which should be tendered like a winding sheet to the victims of injustice. Well, I perceive that the present ruler cloaks his tyranny under legal forms. But it seems to me that he ends by condemning without trial; for he really sentences men before they enter the court, and then brings them before it as if they had not yet been tried. Now one who is formally condemned by a verdict in court, can obviously say he perished owing to an illegal sentence, but how can he that evades his trial escape condemnation by his own conscience? And supposing, now that the fate of such distinguished persons also rests on me, I do manage to run away from the crisis which equally impends over them and myself, what can save me no matter where I go on all the earth from the

CHAP.
XIV

CAP.
XIV

γῆς ἑάσει καθαρὸν δόξαι; ἔστω γὰρ σὲ μὲν εἰρηκέναι ταῦτα, ἐμὲ δὲ ὥς ὀρθῶς εἰρημένοις πείθεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσφάχθαι, τίς μὲν ὑπὲρ εὐπλοίας εὐχὴ τῷ τοιῷδε; ποῖ δὲ ὀρμιεῖται; πορεύσεται δὲ παρὰ τίνα; ἐξαλλάττειν γὰρ χρὴ οἶμαι πάσης, ὀπόσης Ῥωμαῖοι ἄρχουσι, παρ' ἄνδρας δὲ ἤκειν ἐπιτηδεῖους τε καὶ μὴ ἐν φανερώ οἰκοῦντας, τουτὶ δ' ἂν Φραώτης τε εἴη καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ Ἰάρχας ὁ θεῖος καὶ Θεσπεσίων ὁ γενναῖος. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Αἰθιοπῶν στελλοίμην, τί ἂν, ὦ λῶστέ, πρὸς Θεσπεσίωνα εἴποιμι; εἴτε γὰρ κρύπτουμι ταῦτα, ψευδολογίας ἐραστής δόξω, μᾶλλον δὲ δοῦλος, εἴτε ἐς ἀπαγγελίαν αὐτῶν ἵοιμι, τοιῶνδ' ἐπεὶ δεήσει λόγων· ἐμέ, ὦ Θεσπεσίων, Εὐφράτης πρὸς ὑμᾶς διέβαλεν, ἃ μὴ ἑμαυτῷ ξύνοιδα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κομπαστὴν ἔφη καὶ τερατώδη με εἶναι καὶ ὑβριστὴν σοφίας, ὀπόση Ἰνδῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ ταυτὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰμί, προδότης δὲ τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ φίλων καὶ σφαγεὺς καὶ οὐδὲν πιστὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά εἰμι, στέφανόν τε ἀρετῆς, εἴ τις, στεφανωσόμενος ἦκω τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκῶν οὕτως ἀνεῖλον, ὥς μηδὲ οἰκήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔτι. ἐρυθριᾷς, Δημήτριε, τούτων ἀκούων, ὀρῶ γάρ. τί οὖν, εἰ καὶ Φραώτην ἐνθυμηθείης καὶ μὲν παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐς Ἰνδοὺς φεύγοντα, πῶς μὲν ἂν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέψαιμι; τί δ' ἂν εἴποιμι ὑπὲρ ὧν φεύγω; μῶν

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brand of infamy? For let us suppose that you have delivered yourself of all these sentiments, and that I have admitted their correctness and acted on them, and that in consequence our friends have been murdered, what prayers could I offer in such a case for a favourable voyage? What haven could I cast anchor in? To whom could I set out on any voyage? For methinks I should have to steer clear of any land over which the Romans rule, and should have to seek men who are my friends and yet do not live in sight of the tyrant, and that would be Phraotes, and the Babylonian, and the divine Iarchas, and the noble Thespesion. Now supposing I set out for Ethiopia, what, my excellent friend, could I tell Thespesion? For if I concealed this episode, I should prove myself a lover of falsehood, nay worse, a slave; while if I frankly confessed all to him, I could only use such words as these: O Thespesion, Euphrates slandered me to you and accused me of things that are not on my conscience; for he said that I was a boaster and a miracle-monger, and one that violated wisdom, especially that of the Indians; but while I am none of these things, I am nevertheless a betrayer of my own friends, and their murderer, and utterly unreliable and so forth; and if there is any wreath for virtue, I come to wear it, because I have ruined the greatest of the Roman houses so utterly, that henceforth they are left desolate. You blush, Demetrius, to hear such words; I see that you do so. What, then, if you turn from Thespesion to Phraotes and imagine me fleeing to India to take refuge with such a man as he? How should I look him in the face? how should I explain the motive of my flight? Should I not have to say that when I visited

CHAP.
XIV

CAP.
XIV

ὥς ἀφικόμην μὲν καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς πρότερον καὶ τὸν
θάνατον τὸν ὑπὲρ φίλων οὐκ ἄθυμος, ἐπεὶ δὲ
ξυνεγενόμην αὐτῷ, τὸ θειότατον τοῦτ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ
ἀνθρώπους ἄτιμον ἔρριψά σοι ; ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας οὐδὲ
ἐρήσεται οὐδὲν ἤκοντα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ Αἰολὸς ποτε
τὸν Ὀδυσσεά κακῶς χρησάμενον τῷ τῆς εὐπλοίας
δώρῳ ἄτιμον ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν τῆς νήσου, καὶ με-
δήπου ἀπελᾶ τοῦ ὄχθου, κακὸν εἰπὼν ἐς τὸ
Ταντάλειον γεγονέναι πῶμα, βούλονται γὰρ τὸν ἐς
αὐτὸ κύψαντα καὶ κινδύνῳ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς φίλοις.
οἶδα, ὥς δεινὸς εἶ, Δημήτριε, λόγους ξυντεμεῖν
πάντας, ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ τοιοῦτό τι ἐρεῖν πρὸς
με· ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τούτους ἴθι, παρ' ἄνδρας δέ, οἷς
μήπω ἐπέμιξας, καὶ εὖ κείσεται σοι τὸ ἀποδρᾶναι,
ῥᾶον γὰρ ἐν οὐκ εἰδόσι λήσῃ. βασανιζέσθω δὲ
καὶ ὁδε ὁ λόγος, ὅπῃ τοῦ πιθανοῦ ἔχει· δοκεῖ γάρ
μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε· ἐγὼ ἡγοῦμαι τὸν σοφὸν
μηδὲν ἰδίᾳ μηδ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν, μηδ' ἂν
ἐνθυμηθῇναί τι οὕτως ἀμάρτυρον, ὥς μὴ αὐτὸν
γοῦν ἑαυτῷ παρεῖναι, καὶ εἴτε Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτοῦ
τὸ Πυθοῖ γράμμα, εἴτε ἀνδρὸς ὑγιῶς ἑαυτὸν γνόν-
τος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γνώμην αὐτὸ ποιουμένου ἐς πάν-
τας, δοκεῖ μοι ὁ σοφὸς ἑαυτὸν γιγνώσκων καὶ
παραστάτην ἔχον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν μήτ' ἂν πτῆξαι
τι ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ, μήτ' ἂν θαρσῇσαί τι ὧν ἕτεροι μὴ

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him before, I was a gentleman not too faint-hearted to lay down my life for my friends ; but that after enjoying his society, I had at your bidding thrown away with scorn this divinest of human privileges. And as for Iarchas, he surely would not ask me any question at all when I arrived, but just as Aeolus once bade Odysseus quit his island with ignominy, because he had made a bad use of the gift of a good wind which he had bestowed on him, so Iarchas, I imagine, would drive me from his eminence, and tell me that I had disgraced the draught I there had from the cup of Tantalus. For they require a man who stoops and drinks of that goblet, to share the dangers of his friends. I know, Demetrius, how clever you are at chopping logic, and this, I believe, is why you will tender me some further advice, such as this : But you must not resort to those you have named, but to men with whom you have never had anything to do, and then your flight will be alright ; for you will find it easier to lie hidden among people who do not know you. Well, let me examine this argument too, and see whether there is anything in it. For this is how I regard it : I consider that a wise man does nothing in private nor by himself alone ; I hold that not even his inmost thoughts can be so devoid of witness, that he himself at least is not present with himself ; and whether the Pythian inscription was suggested by Apollo himself, or by some man who had a healthy conscience, and was therefore minded to publish it as an aphorism for all, I hold that the sage who ‘ knows himself,’ and has his own conscience as his perpetual companion, will never cower before things that scare the many, nor venture upon courses which others would engage

CHAP.
XIV

CAP. XIV. ξὺν αἰσχύνῃ ἄπτονται· δοῦλοι γὰρ τῶν τυραννίδων ὄντες καὶ προδοῦναι αὐταῖς ποτε τοὺς φιλτάτους ὥρμησαν, τὰ μὲν μὴ φοβερὰ δείσαντες, ἃ δὲ χρὴ δεῖσαι μὴ φοβηθέντες.

Σοφία δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ Πυθικῷ ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἐπαινεῖ, ξύνεσιν ἡγουμένου περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι τὴν ἀπολλῦσαν αὐτοὺς νόσον, ἐπειδὴ ἐνθυμηθῶσιν, ὡς κακὰ εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. ἥδε γάρ που καὶ τῷ Ὀρέστη τὰ τῶν Εὐμενίδων εἶδη ἀνέγραφεν, ὅτε δὴ ἐμαίνετο ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί, νοῦς μὲν γὰρ τῶν πρακτέων κύριος, σύνεσις δὲ τῶν ἐκείνῳ δοξάντων. ἦν μὲν δὴ χρηστὰ ἔλθαι ὁ νοῦς, πέμπει ἤδη τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ ξύνεσις ἐς πάντα μὲν ἱερά, πάσας δὲ ἀγυιάς, πάντα δὲ τεμένη, πάντα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἡθὴ κροτοῦσά τε καὶ ἄδουσα, ἐφυμνήσει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ καθεύδοντι, παριστᾶσα χορὸν εὐφημον ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὀνείρων δήμου, ἦν δ' ἐς φαῦλα ὀλίσθη ἢ τοῦ νοῦ στάσις, οὐκ ἔᾤ τοῦτον ἢ ξύνεσις οὔτε ὄμμα ὀρθὸν ἐς ἀνθρώπων τινὰ ἀφεῖναι οὔτε τὸ ἀπ' ἐλευθέρας γλώττης φθέγμα, ἱερῶν τε ἀπελαύνει καὶ τοῦ εὔχεσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ χεῖρα αἶρειν ξυγχωρεῖ ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἀλλ' ἐπικόπτει αἶροντας, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐπανατεινομένους οἱ νόμοι, ἐξίστησι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὀμίλου παντὸς καὶ δειματοῖ καθεύδοντας, καὶ ἃ μὲν ὀρώσι μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ εἰ δὴ τινα ἀκούειν ἢ λέγειν οἴονται, ὀνειρώδη

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upon without shame. For being the slaves of despots, they have been ready at times to betray to them even their dearest; because just as they trembled at imaginary terrors, so they felt no fear where they should have trembled.

CHAP.
XIV

“ But Wisdom allows of none of these things. For beside the Pythian epigram, she also praises Euripides who regarded ‘ conscience in the case of human beings as a disease which works their ruin, whenever they realise that they have done wrong.’ For it was such conscience that brought up before Orestes and depicted in his imagination the shapes of the Eumenides, when he had gone mad with wrath against his mother; for whereas reason decides what should be done, conscience revises the resolutions taken by reason. If then reason chooses the better part, conscience forthwith escorts a man to all the temples, into all the by-streets, into all groves of the gods, and into all haunts of mankind, applauding him and singing his praises. She will even hymn his merits as he sleeps, and will weave around him a chorus of angels from the world of dreams; but if the determination of reason trip and fall into evil courses, conscience permits not the sinner to look others in the face, nor to address them freely and boldly with his lips; and she drives him away from temples and from prayer. For she suffers him not even to uplift his hands in prayer to the images, but strikes them down as he lifts them, as the law strikes down those who rebel against it; and she drives such men from every social meeting, and terrifies them in their sleep; and while she turns into dreams and windy forms all that they see by day, and any things they think they hear or say, she lends to their empty

Eurip. *Or.*
396

CAP.
XIV καὶ ἀνεμιαῖα ποιεῖ τούτοις, τὰς δὲ ἀμυδρὰς καὶ φαντασιώδεις πτοίας ἀληθεῖς ἤδη καὶ πιθανὰς τῷ φόβῳ. ὥς μὲν δὴ ἐλέγξει με ἡ σύνεσις ἐς εἰδότας τε καὶ μὴ εἰδότας ἤκοντα, προδότης εἰ γενοίμην τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδεῖχθαί μοι σαφῶς οἶμαι καὶ ὥς φαίνει ἀλήθεια, προδώσω δὲ οὐδὲ ἑμαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς τὸν τύραννον, τὸ τοῦ γενναίου Ὅμηρου ἐπειπών· ξυνὸς Ἐννάλιος.”

XV

CAP.
XV Ὑπὸ τούτων ὁ Δαμῖς τῶν λόγων αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω διατεθῆναί φησιν, ὥς ὁρμήν τε ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ θάρσος, τὸν Δημήτριον δὲ μὴ ἀπογνῶναι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσαντα καὶ ξυνθέμενόν οἷς εἶπεν ἐπιθειάσαι οἱ ὑπὲρ οὗ κινδυνεύει καὶ φιλοσοφία αὐτῇ, ὑπὲρ ἧς καρτερεῖ ταῦτα, ἡγεῖσθαι τε αὐτοῖς οὗ καταλύων ἐτύγχανε, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον παραιτούμενον τοῦτο, “δείλη ἤδη,” φάναι, “καὶ χρὴ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα ἀφεῖναι, τουτὶ γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις νόμιμον, ξυσσιτήσομεν δέ, ἐπειδὰν εὖ τὰμὰ ἔχῃ, νυνὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ κατασκευασθεῖη τις αἰτία ἐπὶ σέ ὥς ξυσσιτήσαντα τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐχθρῷ, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος μεθ' ἡμῶν ἵθι, μὴ καὶ τὸ λόγου κεκοινωνηκέναι μοι διαβάλλῃ σε ἐς ἀπορρήτους βουλὰς.” ξυνεχώρησε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ

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and fantastic flutterings of heart truth and substantial reality of well-founded terror. I think then that I have clearly shown you, and that truth itself will convince you, that my conscience will convict me wherever I go, whether to people that know me, or to people that do not, supposing I were to betray my friends; but I will not betray even myself, but I will boldly wrestle with the tyrant, hailing him with the words of the noble Homer: Mars is as much my friend as thine." CHAP. XIV
Iliad 18. 302

XV

DAMIS was so impressed by this address, he tells us, that he took fresh resolution and courage, and Demetrius no longer despaired of Apollonius, but rather praising and agreeing with his appeal, wished godspeed to him in his perilous enterprise and to his mistress Philosophy for whose sake he braved so much. And he led them, Damis says, to where he was lodging; but Apollonius declined and said: "It is now eventide, and about the time of the lighting up of the lamps and I must set out for the port of Rome, for this is the usual hour at which these ships sail. However we will dine together another time, when my affairs are on a better footing; for just now some charge would be trumped up against yourself of having dined with an enemy of the Emperor. Nor must you come down to the harbour with us, lest you should be accused, merely for having conversed with me, of harbouring criminal designs." Demetrius accordingly consented, and after embracing them he quitted them, CHAP. XV
Damis is re-assured and departs for Rome with Apollonius

CAP.
XV περιβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἀπήει, μεταστρεφόμενός τε καὶ τὰ δάκρυα ἀποψῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδὼν ἐς τὸν Δάμιν, “ εἰ μὲν ἔρρωσαι,” ἔφη, “ καὶ θαρσεῖς ἅπερ ἐγώ, βαδίσωμεν ἄμφω ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, εἰ δὲ ἀθύμως ἔχεις, ὥρα σοι καταμένειν ἐνταῦθα, Δημητρίῳ γὰρ ξυνέση τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀνδρὶ σοί τε κἀμοὶ ἐπιτηδείῳ.” ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Δάμις, “ καὶ τίνα,” ἔφη, “ νομιῶ ἐμαυτόν, εἰ τοιαῦτά σου διειλεγμένον σήμερον ὑπὲρ φίλων καὶ κοινωνίας κινδύνων, οἳ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἤκουσιν, ἐγὼ δ’ ἀνήκοος τοῦ λόγου φεύγοιμί σε καὶ ἀποκινδυνεύοιμί σου, μήπω πρότερον κακὸς ὑπὲρ σοῦ δόξας;” “ ὀρθῶς,” ἔφη, “ λέγεις καὶ ἴωμεν, ἐγὼ μὲν, ὥς ἔχω, σὲ δὲ χρὴ μετασκευάζειν σαυτὸν ἐς τὸ δημοτικώτερον καὶ μῆτε κομᾶν, ὥς γοῦν ἔχεις, τρίβωνά τε ἀνταλλάττεσθαι τουτοῦ τοῦ λίνου καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα παραιτεῖσθαι τοῦτο· τί δὲ βούλεταί μοι ταῦτα, χρὴ διαλεχθῆναι. λῶον γὰρ καὶ πλείῳ καρτερῆσαι πρὸ τῆς δίκης· οὐ δὴ βούλομαι κοινωνῆσαί σε μοι τούτων ξυλληφθέντα, ξυλληφθείης γὰρ ἂν διαβεβλημένου τοῦ σχήματος, ἀλλ’ ὥς μὴ φιλοσοφούντα μὲν, ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ἄλλως ὄντα μοι ξυνέπεσθαί τε καὶ παρατυγχάνειν οἷς πράττω.” αἰτία μὲν ἦδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμιν τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ ὥς κακίων γε αὐτὸ μεθεῖναι

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though he often turned back to look towards them and wiped tears from his eyes. But Apollonius looked at Damis and said: "If you are firmly resolved, and are as courageous as myself, let us both embark upon the ship; but if you are dispirited, it is better for you to remain here, for you can live with Demetrius during the interval, since he is as much your friend as mine." But Damis took him up and said: "What could I think of myself, if after you have so nobly discoursed to-day about the duty of sharing the dangers of one's friends, when they fall upon them, I let your words fall on deaf ears, and abandoned you in the hour of danger, and this although until now I have never shewn cowardice where you were concerned?" "You speak rightly," said Apollonius, "so let us depart; I will go as I am, but you must needs disguise yourself as a man of the people, nor must you wear your hair long as you do now, and you must exchange your philosopher's cloak for this linen garment, and you must put away the shoes you wear. But I must tell you what my intention is in this; for it were best to hold out as long as we can before the trial: then I do not wish that you should be a sharer of my fate through being detected by your dress, which will certainly betray you and lead to your arrest; but I would rather that you followed me in the guise of one not sworn to my philosophy, but just attached to me for other reasons, and so accompanying me in all I do." This is the reason why Damis put off his Pythagorean garb; for he says he did not do it through cowardice, nor through any regret at having worn it, but merely

CHAP.
XV

Damis doffs
his philoso-
pher's garb

CAP. φησιν, οὐδὲ μεταγνούς, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἦν
XV ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ξυμφέρων τοῦ καιροῦ.

XVI

CAP. Ἀποπλεύσαντες δὲ τῆς Δικαιαρχίας τριταῖοι
XVI κατῆραν ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Θύμβριδος, ἀφ' ὧν
ξύμμετρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνάπλους. τὸ μὲν δὴ
Βασίλειον ξίφος ἦν ἐπ' Αἰλιανῷ τότε. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ
οὗτος πάλαι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἦρα, συγγεγονώς
ποτε αὐτῷ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ φανερόν μὲν οὐδὲν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Δομετιανὸν ἔλεγεν, οὐ γὰρ
ξυνεχώρει ἢ ἀρχή, τὸν γὰρ δοκοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ
ἀπηχθῆσθαι πῶς μὲν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπήνεσε, πῶς
δ' ἂν ὡς ἐπιτήδειον ἑαυτῷ παρητήσατο; τέχνην
μὴν ὁπόσαι εἰσὶν ἀφανῶς ἀμύνουσαι, πάσαις ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ ἐχρήτο, ὅς γε καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ὅν, πρὶν ἤκειν,
διεβάλλετο, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “κουφολόγον οἱ
σοφισταὶ χρήμα καὶ ἀλαζῶν ἢ τέχνη, καὶ ἐπεὶ
μηδὲν χρηστὸν τοῦ εἶναι ἀπολαύουσι, θανάτου
γλίσχονται, καὶ οὐ περιμένουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτό-
ματον, ἀλλ' ἐπισπῶνται τὸν θάνατον ἐκκαλού-
μενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας ξίφη. ταῦθ' ἡγοῦμαι καὶ
Νέρωνα ἐνθυμηθέντα μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Δημη-
τρίου ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ γὰρ θανατῶντα
ἦσθετο, οὐ κατὰ συγγνώμην ἐπανῆκεν αὐτῷ τὸν
θάνατον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ κτείνειν. καὶ

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because he approved of a device to which he accommodated himself to suit the expedience of the moment.

CHAP.
XV.

XVI

THEY sailed from Dikaearchia, and on the third day they put in to the mouth of the Tiber from which it is a fairly short sail up to Rome. Now the Emperor's sword was at time in the keeping of Aelian, a person who long ago had been attached to Apollonius, because he once met him in Egypt. And although he said nothing openly in his favour to Domitian, for that his office did not allow of his doing,—for how could he have praised to his sovereign's face one who was supposed to be an object of his detestation any more than he could intercede in his behalf as for a friend of his own?—Nevertheless whatever means there were of helping him in an unobtrusive way, he resorted to in his behalf; and accordingly at the time when, before he arrived, Apollonius was being calumniated to Domitian, he would say: "My sovereign, sophists are all prattle and flippancy; and their art is all for show, and they are so eager to die because they get no good out of life; and therefore they don't wait for death to come of itself, but try to anticipate and draw it on themselves by provoking those who hold the sword. This I think was the reason which weighed with Nero and prevented his being drawn on by Demetrius into slaying him. For as he saw that he was anxious for death, he let him off not because he wished to pardon him, but because he disdained to put him to death.

CHAP.
XVI
Aelian in
favour of
the Sage

CAP. XVI μὴν καὶ Μουσώνιον τὸν Τυρρηνὸν πολλὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐναντιωθέντα τῇ νήσῳ ξυνέσχευ, ἥ ὄνομα Γύαρα, καὶ οὕτω τι τῶν σοφιστῶν τούτων ἥπτους Ἕλληνες, ὡς τότε μὲν κατὰ ξυνουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσπλεῖν πάντας, νυνὶ δὲ κατὰ ἱστορίαν τῆς κρήνης· ἐν γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ἀνύδρῳ οὔσῃ πρότερον εὔρημα Μουσωνίου κρήνη ἐγένετο, ἣν ἄδουσιν Ἕλληνες, ὅσα Ἑλικῶνι τὴν τοῦ ἵππου.”

XVII

CAP. XVII Τούτοις μὲν δὴ διῆγεν ὁ Αἰλιανὸς τὸν βασιλέα, πρὶν ἥκειν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἀφικομένου δὲ σοφωτέρων ἥπτετο, κελεύει μὲν γὰρ ξυλληφθέντα αὐτὸν ἀναχθῆναί οἱ, λοιδορουμένου δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ τὴν κατηγορίαν ξυνθέντος, ὡς γόητι καὶ ἱκανῶ τὴν τέχνην, ὁ μὲν Αἰλιανός, “τῷ βασιλείῳ δικαστηρίῳ,” ἔφη, “σαυτὸν τε καὶ τὰ τούτου φύλαττε,” ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος, “εἰ μὲν γόης,” ἔφη, “ἐγώ, πῶς κρίνομαι; εἰ δὲ κρίνομαι, πῶς γόης εἰμί; εἰ μὴ ἄρα τὸ συκοφαντεῖν ἰσχυρὸν οὕτως εἶναι φησιν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν γοητευόντων ἥττᾶσθαι αὐτό.” βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ λέγειν τι ἀμαθέστερον, ἐκκρούων αὐτὸν ὁ Αἰλιανός, “ἐμοί,” εἶπεν, “ἄφες τὸν καιρὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ἔλεγχον γὰρ ποιήσομαι τῆς τοῦ σοφιστοῦ γνώμης ἰδίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ μὲν ὁμολογῇ ἀδικεῖν, ξυντετμήσονται οἱ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λόγοι καὶ σὺ ἄπει εἰρηνικῶς, εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγει, δικάσει ὁ βασιλεύς.” παρελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸ ἀπόρρητον δικαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

Moreover in the case of Musonius the Tyrrhenian, CHAP. XVI who opposed his rule in many ways, he only kept him in the island called Gyara; and Hellenes are so fond of these sophists, that at that time they were all making voyages by ship to visit him, as they now do to visit the spring; for until Musonius went there, there was no water in the island, but he discovered a spring, which the Greeks celebrate as loudly as they do the horse's spring at Helicon."

XVII

IN this way Aelian tried to put off the king until Apollonius arrived, and then he began to use more address; for he ordered Apollonius to be arrested and brought into his presence. And when the counsel for the prosecution began to abuse him as a wizard and an adept at magic, Aelian remarked, "Keep yourself and your charges against him for the Royal Court." But Apollonius remarked: "If I am a wizard, how is it I am brought to trial? And if I am brought to trial, how can I be a wizard? Unless indeed the power of slander is so great that even wizards cannot get the better of it." Then when the accuser was about to say something still more foolish, Aelian cut him short and said: "Leave me the time that will elapse until his trial begins; for I intend to examine the sophist's character privately, and not before yourselves; and if he admits his guilt, then the pleadings in the court can be cut short, and you can depart in peace, but if he denies his guilt, the emperor will try him." He accordingly passed into his secret court where the most important accusations

CHAP. XVII
Aelian seeks a secret interview with the Sage

CAP.
XVII ἑλέγχεται καὶ σιωπᾶται, “χωρεῖτε,” ἔφη, “ἐνθένδε καὶ μηδεὶς ἐπακροάσθω, δοκεῖ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο.”

XVIII

CAP.
XVIII Ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοί, “ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, μειράκιον ἦν κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον ἦλθε, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς θύσων, χρησόμενος δ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σοί, καὶ χιλίαςρχον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤγεν ἤδη τῶν πολεμικῶν εἰδότα, σὺ δ’ οὕτω τί μοι ἐπιτηδεῖως εἶχες, ὥς χρηματίζοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀπολαβὼν με ἰδίᾳ, ποδαπὸς τε εἶην λέγειν καὶ ὅ τι μοι τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ὥς ἔχω τοῦ πατρός, προὔλεγες δέ μοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, ἣ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς μεγίστη δοκεῖ καὶ μείζων ἢ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ ἀνθρώπων, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὄχλος καὶ κακοδαιμονία φαίνεται· τυραννίδος γὰρ φύλαξ χαλεπῆς εἰμι, καὶ μὲν σφῆλῳ αὐτῇν, δέδοικα τὰ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν. σοὶ δ’ ὅπως εὖνους εἰμί, δεδήλωκα, ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀφ’ ὧν εἶρηκά που τὸ μηδ’ ἂν παύσασθαί σε ἀγαπῶν, ἔστ’ ἂν ἡ τὸ ἐκείνων μεμνήσθαι¹ * * τὸ δὲ ἰδίᾳ ἐθελῆσαι ἐρέσθαι σε, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατήγορος ξυντέθεικε, σόφισμα οὐ φαῦλον ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας ἐμοὶ τῆς πρὸς σέ γεγονεν, ὅπως θαρροίης μὲν τὰ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ ὄντα, προγονίης δὲ

¹ There appears to be a lacuna in the text at this point.

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and causes were tried in strict privacy and said to the company : “ Do you depart hence, and let no one remain to listen, for such is the will of the Emperor.”

CHAP.
XVII

XVIII

AND when they were alone, he said : “ I, O Apollonius, was a stripling at the time when the father of the present sovereign came to Egypt to sacrifice to the gods, and to consult you about his own affairs. I was a tribune only then, but the Emperor took me with him because I was already versed in war ; while you were so friendly with myself, that when the Emperor was receiving deputations from the cities, you took me aside and told me of what country I was and what was my name and parentage ; and you foretold to me that I should hold this office which is accounted by the multitude the highest of all, and superior to all other human positions at once, although to myself it means much trouble and much unhappiness. For I am the sentinel of the harshest of tyrants, whom if I betray, I am afraid of the wrath of heaven. But I have shown you how friendly I am towards yourself, for in reminding you how our friendship began, I have surely made it clear to you that it can never cease, as long as we can remember those beginnings If I have said I would question you in private about the charges which your accuser has drawn up against you, it was only a good-natured pretext on my part for obtaining an interview with you, in order to assure you of my own good will, and to warn

CHAP.
XVIII
Aelian's
address

CAP.
XVIII

τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ· ὃ τι μὲν γὰρ ψηφιεῖται ἐπὶ σοί, οὐκ οἶδα, διάκειται δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ καταψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθείῃ, καὶ πρόφασιν ἀπωλείας ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων ποιεῖται σε· βούλεται μὲν γάρ, ἅ μὴ δεῖ, πράττει δ' αὐτὰ καταρρυθμίζων ἐς τὴν τοῦ δικαίου δόξαν. δεῖ δὴ καὶ μοι πλάσματος καὶ ὁρμῆς ἐπὶ σέ, εἰ γὰρ ὑπόψεται με ὡς ἀνιέντα, οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπότερος ἡμῶν ἀπολείται θάττον·”

XIX

CAP.
XIX

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἐπεὶ ὑγιῶς,” ἔφη, “διαλεγόμεθα, καὶ ὅποσα καρδία ἴσχει σύ τε εἴρηκας ἐμοί τε εἰπεῖν δίκαιον, φιλοσοφεῖς τε ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ πραγμάτων ὡς οἱ σφόδρα μοι ξυνδιατρίψαντες, καί, νῆ Δία, οὕτω φιλανθρώπως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχεις, ὡς ξυγκινδυνεύειν ἡγεῖσθαί μοι, λέξω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ νοῦν· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀποδρᾶναι μὲν ἦν ὑμᾶς ἐς πολλὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς, ἅ μὴ ὑμῶν ἀκροᾶται, παρ' ἀνδρας τε ἀφικέσθαι σοφοὺς καὶ σοφωτέρους ἢ ἐγώ, θεοὺς τε θεραπεύειν ξὺν ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, βαδίσαντι ἐς ἥθη ἀνθρώπων θεοφιλεστέρων ἢ οἱ ἐνταῦθα, παρ' οἷς οὔτε ἔνδειξις οὔτε γραφή

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

you of the Emperor's designs. Now what his verdict CHAP. XVIII will be in your case I do not know ; but his temper is that of people who are anxious to condemn a person, but are ashamed to do so except upon some real evidence, and he wishes to make you an excuse for destroying these men of consular rank. So his wishes you see are criminal, but he observes a certain formality in his actions in order to preserve a semblance of justice. And I, too, in my turn, must pretend to be exasperated with you ; for if he suspects me of any leniency, I do not know which of us will be the first to perish."

XIX

APOLLONIUS replied : " Since we are talking with- CHAP. XIX out any restraint and you have told me all that is in your heart, I in turn am bound to tell you no less ; and since you also take a philosopher's view of your own position, as one might do who has most thoroughly studied philosophy in my society, and, by Heaven, inasmuch as you are so kindly disposed towards us as to imagine you run a common risk with myself, I will tell you exactly what I think. It was in my power to run away from you to many parts of the earth, where your authority is not recognised, and where I should have found myself among wise men, men much wiser than myself, and where I might have worshipped the gods in accordance with the principles of sound reason. I had only to go to the haunts of men who are more beloved of the gods than are the people of this city, men among whom such things as informers and writs

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XIX. οὐδεμία, δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ μήτε ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι δικαστηρίων οὐ δέονται, δέσας δὲ προδότου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, εἰ φύγοιμι· μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀπολογία, ἀπόλουντο δὲ οἱ δι' ἐμοῦ κινδυνεύοντες, ἤκω ἀπολογησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν ἀπολογεῖσθαι με δεῖ, φράζε·”

XX

CAP.
XX. “ Αἰ μὲν ἰδέαι τῆς γραφῆς ποικίλαι τε,” ἔφη, “ καὶ πλείους, καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσθῆτα διαβάλλουσι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν, καὶ τό ἐστιν ὑφ' ὧν προσκυνεῖσθαι σε καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ποτὲ ὑπὲρ λοιμοῦ χρήσαι, διειλέχθαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ μὲν ἀφανῶς, τὰ δ' ἐκφάνδην, τὰ δ' ὡς θεῶν ἀκούσαντα. τὸ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπιθανώτατον, γιγνώσκω γάρ, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν αἷμα ἀνέχῃ, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πιθανώτατον διαβάλλεται· φασὶν ἐς ἀγρὸν βαδίσαντά σε παρὰ Νερούαν τεμεῖν αὐτῷ παῖδα Ἀρκάδα θυομένῳ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπᾶραι αὐτὸν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τούτοις, πεπρᾶχθαι δὲ ταῦτα νύκτωρ φθίνοντος ἤδη τοῦ μηνός. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κατηγόρημα, ἐπειδὴ πολλῶ μείζον, μὴ ἕτερόν τι παρ' ἐκεῖνο ἡγώμεθα, ὃ γὰρ λαμβανό-

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of accusation are unknown, because, since they CHAP. XIX
 neither wrong one another nor are wronged, they stand in no need of law-courts. But I am come to offer my defence, because I fear to be branded as a traitor; for, if I ran away instead of staying and defending myself, those who are running risks on my account would be brought to ruin. But I would have you tell me what are the accusations against which I have to defend myself."

XX

"THE counts of the indictment," replied the CHAP. XX
 other, "are as varied as they are numerous; for your style of dress is assailed in them and your way of living in general, and your having been worshipped by certain people, and the fact that in Ephesus once you delivered an oracle about the famine; and also that you have uttered certain sentiments to the detriment of the sovereign, some of them openly, some of them obscurely and privately, and some of them on the pretence that you learned them from heaven. But the charge which most appeals to the credulity of the Emperor, although I cannot credit it in the least, for I know that you are opposed even to shedding the blood of victims, is the following: they say that you visited Nerva in the country, and that you cut up an Arcadian boy for him when he was consulting the auspices against the Emperor; and that by such rites as these you roused his ambitions; and that all this was done by night when the moon was already on the wane. This is the accusation as compared with which we need not consider any other, Aelian reveals to Apollonius the accusations made against him

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XX
 μένος τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς διαίτης καὶ τοῦ προ-
 γιγνώσκειν ἐς τοῦτο δῆπου ξυντείνει, καὶ ταῦτά γε
 καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν δοῦναί σοί φησι
 καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν θάρσος. χρή οὖν παρεσκευά-
 σθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπολογίαν, ἔστω δέ σοι ὁ
 λόγος μὴ ὑπερορῶν τοῦ βασιλέως.” καὶ ὁ
 Ἀπολλώνιος, “τοῦ μὲν μὴ ὑπερορᾶν ἔστω τεκμή-
 ριον σοι τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀπολογίας ἀφίχθαί με, εἰ δὲ καὶ
 θρασέως οὕτω τὰμὰ εἶχεν, ὥς ὑπὲρ τυραννίδας
 αἵρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σοί γε ὑπέσχον ἑμαυτὸν τοιῷδε
 ὄντι καὶ ἀγαπῶντί με. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐχθρῷ πονηρὸν
 δόξαι δεινὸν οὐπω, οἱ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ μισοῦσιν οὐκ
 ἀφ’ ὧν δημοσίᾳ διαβέβληταί τις, ἀλλ’ ἀφ’ ὧν
 ἰδίᾳ προσκέκρουκε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς φίλου
 λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, ὥς κακὸς φαίνοιτο, βαρύτερον
 τοῦτο ἢ τὰ ἐχθρῶν ὁμοῦ πάντα, οὐ γὰρ ἂν
 διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐ κακείοις, δι’ ἃ κακὸς ἦν,
 ἀπηχθῆσθαι.”

XXI

CAP. XXI
 Ἐδόκει τῷ Λίλιανῳ εὖ λέγειν, καὶ παρακελευ-
 σάμενος αὐτῷ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτοῦ ἐλάβετο ὥς μὴ ἂν
 ἐκπλαγέντος τοῦ ἀνδρός, μηδ’ ἂν εἰ Γοργεῖη
 κεφαλὴ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν αἴροιτο, καλέσας οὖν τοὺς

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because it far outweighs them all. For if the accuser CHAP.
XX attacks your dress and your mode of life and your gift of foreknowledge, it is only by way, I assure you, of leading up to this charge; and it was moreover these peculiarities which prompted you to commit the crime of conspiring against the Emperor, so he says, and emboldened you to offer such a sacrifice. You must then be prepared to defend yourself upon these counts, and I would only ask you in what you say to show great respect for the sovereign." And Apollonius replied: "That I shall show no disrespect, you may clearly gather from the fact that I am come here to justify myself; and even if my circumstances were such as to embolden me to treat a despot in a haughty manner, I should anyhow submit myself to a man like yourself who also loves me. For though it does not so much matter if you merely fall into the bad graces of an enemy,—for your enemies will hate you not for reasons which make you an object of public suspicion, but for private causes of offence which you have given them, — nothing is graver than to give a friend reason to think ill of you: this is worse than all your enemies put together can effect, for no man can avoid being disliked even by his enemies for his bad qualities."

XXI

THESE words impressed Aelian as very sensible; CHAP.
XXI and he bade him be of good courage, while he himself formed the conviction that here was a man whom nothing could terrify or startle, and who would not flinch, even if the head of the Gorgon were brandished over him. He accordingly summoned the

CAP. προστεταγμένους τὰ τοιαῦτα, “κελεύω,” ἔφη,
 XXI “ξυνέχειν τοῦτον, ἔστ’ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤκοντά τε
 αὐτὸν μάθῃ καὶ λέγοντα ὅποσα εἶρηκε,” καὶ
 ἐώκει τοῖς μάλα ὠργισμένοις. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ
 βασίλεια τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔπραττεν.

Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δάμις ἀπομνημονεύει ἔργου ὁμοίου
 τε καὶ ἀνομοίου τῷ ἐπ’ Ἀριστείδου ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν·
 ὁστράκῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύνειν ἐπ’
 ἀρετῇ, ἔξω δὲ τείχους ἤδη ὄντι προσελθόντα τῶν
 ἀγροίκων τινὰ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ γράφειν τι αὐτῷ ἐπ’
 Ἀριστείδην ὁστρακον· ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὔτε τὸν ἄνδρα
 εἰδὼς οὔτ’ αὐτὸ τὸ γράφειν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸν ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ δικαίου φθόνον, χιλιάρχος δὲ τῶν σφόδρα
 γιγνωσκόντων τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον προσειπὼν αὐτὸν
 ἤρετο κατὰ ὕβριν, ὑπὲρ ὅτου κινδυνεύοι, τοῦ δὲ
 οὐκ εἰδέναι φήσαντος, “ἀλλ’ ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “οἶδα· τὸ
 γὰρ προσκυνεῖσθαί σε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δια-
 βέβληκεν ὥς ἴσων ἀξιούμενον τοῖς θεοῖς.” “καὶ
 τίς,” εἶπεν, “ὁ προσκυνήσας ἐμέ;” “ἐγώ,” ἔφη,
 “ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παῖς ἔτι ὢν, ὅποτε ἡμᾶς ἰάσω τοῦ
 λοιμοῦ.” “καλῶς ποιῶν,” εἶπεν, “αὐτός τε σὺ
 καὶ ἡ σωθεῖσα Ἐφεσίων πόλις.” “διὰ ταῦτ’
 οὖν,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρεσκεύακα,
 ἥ σε ἀπαλλάξει τῆς αἰτίας· ἴωμεν γὰρ ἔξω τείχους,

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jailors who had charge of such cases and said : “ My orders are to detain this man, until the Emperor be informed of his arrival and learn from his lips all he has said to me.” And he said this with the air of a man very much enraged ; and then he went into the palace and began to attend to the duties of his office.

At this point Damis records an incident which in a way resembles and in a way is unlike the episode related of Aristides long ago at Athens. For they were ostracising Aristides because of his virtue, and he had no sooner passed the gates of the city than a rustic came up to him and begged him to fill up his voting sherd against Aristides. This rustic knew no more to whom he was speaking than he knew how to write ; he only knew that Aristides was detested because he was so just. Now on this occasion a CHAP. XXItribune who knew Apollonius perfectly well, addressed him and asked him in an insolent manner, what had brought him to such a pass. Apollonius replied that he did not know. “ Well,” said the other, “ I can tell you : for it is allowing yourself to be worshipped by your fellow-men that has led you to be accused of setting yourself on a level with the gods.” “ And who is it,” asked the other, “ that has paid me this worship ? ” “ I myself,” said the other, “ when I was still a boy in Ephesus, at a time when you stayed our epidemic.” “ Lucky it was both for you,” said Apollonius, “ and for the city of Ephesus that was saved.” “ Well this is a reason,” said the other, “ why I have prepared a method of defence for yourself, which will rid you of the charge against you. For let us go outside

The scoffing
tribune

CAP. XXI καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀποκόψω σου τὸν αὐχένα τῷ ξίφει, διαβέβληται ἡ αἰτία καὶ ἀφεῖσαι, ἦν δὲ ἐκπλήξης με καὶ μεθῶ τὸ ξίφος, θεῖόν τε ἀνάγκη νομίζεσθαί σε καὶ ὥς ἐπ' ἀληθέσι κρίνεσθαι.” τοσῶδε μὲν δὴ ἀγροικότερος οὗτος τοῦ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐλαύνοντος, ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα μασώμενός τε καὶ ξὺν γέλωτι, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀκηκοότι ὅμοιος διελέγετο πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δέλτα, περὶ ᾧ φασι τὸν Νεῖλον σχίζεσθαι.

XXII

CAP. XXII Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλέσας αὐτὸν ὁ Αἰλιανὸς ἐκέλευσε τὸ ἐλευθέριον οἰκεῖν δεσμωτήριον, “ἔστ' ἂν γένηται σχολή,” ἔφη, “τῷ βασιλεῖ, ξυγγενέσθαι γάρ σοι ἰδίᾳ πρότερον βούλεται,” ἀπῆλθε μὲν τοῦ δικαστηρίου, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον “διαλεγώμεθα,” ἔφη, “Δάμι, τοῖς ἐνταῦθα· τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο πράττοι τις ἐς τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ὃν διαλέξεταί μοι ὁ τύραννος ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖται;” “ἀδολέσχας,” εἶπεν, “ἡγήσονται ἡμᾶς, ἦν ἐκκρούωμεν αὐτοὺς ὧν ἀπολογήσονται, καὶ ἄλλως ἄτοπον περιπατεῖν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀθύμως ἔχοντας.” “καὶ μὴν τούτοις μάλιστα δεῖ,” ἔφη, “τοῦ διαλεξομένου τε καὶ θεραπεύσοντος· εἰ γὰρ ἐνθυμηθείης τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἔπη, ἐν οἷς Ὀμηρος τὴν Ἑλένην φησὶ τὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου φάρμακα οἰνοχοεῖν

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the gates, and if I cut your head off with my sword, the accusation will have defeated itself and you will go scot free; but if you terrify me to such an extent that I drop my sword, you must needs be thought a divine being, and then it will be seen that there is a basis of truth in the charges made against you." So much coarser and ruder was this fellow than the man who wished to banish Aristides, and he uttered his words with grimace and mocking laughter; but Apollonius affected not to have heard him, and went on with his conversation with Damis about the delta, about which they say the Nile is divided into two branches.

CHAP.
XXI

XXII

ÆLIAN next summoned him and ordered him into the prison, where the captives were not bound, "until," he said, "the Emperor shall have leisure, for he desires to talk with you privately before taking any further steps." Apollonius accordingly left the law-court and passed into the prison, where he said: "Let us talk, Damis, with the people here. For what else is there for us to do until the time comes when the despot will give me such audience as he desires?" "Will they not think us babblers," said Damis, "and bores, if we interrupt them in the preparation of their defence, and moreover, it is a mistake to talk philosophy with men so broken in spirit as they." "Nay," said Apollonius, "they are just the people who most want someone to talk to them and comfort them. For you may remember the verses of Homer in which he relates how Helen

CHAP.
XXII
Apollonius
proposes to
converse
with his
fellow
prisoners

Odyss. 4.
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ἐς τὸν κρατῆρα, ὡς τὰ ἄχρη τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβρέ-
χοιτο, δοκῶ μοι τὴν Ἑλένην λόγους Αἰγυπτίους
ἐκμαθοῦσαν ἐπάδειν τοῖς ἀθύμοις ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι,
ἰωμένην αὐτοὺς λόγῳ τε ἀναμίξαι καὶ οἴνῳ.” “καὶ
εἰκὸς μὲν,” εἶπεν, “εἴπερ ἐς Αἴγυπτόν τε ἦλθε
καὶ ὠμίλησε τῷ Πρωτεῖ, ἣ ὡς Ὀμήρῳ δοκεῖ,
Πολυδάμνη ξυνεγένετο τῇ τοῦ Θῶνος· νυνὶ δὲ
ἀναβεβλήσθων οὗτοι, δέομαι γάρ τι ἐρέσθαι σε.”
“οἶδα,” ἔφη, “ὃ με ἐρήσῃ, τοὺς γάρ τοι λόγους,
οἳ γεγόνασί μοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἅττα εἶπε, καὶ
εἰ φοβερὸς ἦν ἡ πρᾶος, βούλει ἀκοῦσαί μου.”
καὶ διῆλθε πάντας· προσκυνήσας οὖν ὁ Δάμις,
“οὐκ ἀπιστῶ,” ἔφη, “καὶ τὴν Λευκοθέαν ποτὲ
κρήδεμνον τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ δοῦναι μετὰ τὴν ναῦν, ἥς
ἐκπεσὼν ἀνεμέτρει ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ τὸ πέλαγος·
καὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐς ἀμήχανά τε καὶ φοβερά ἐμβεβη-
κότων, θεῶν τις ὑπερέχει, οἶμαι, χεῖρα, ὡς μὴ
ἐκπέσοιμεν σωτηρίας πάσης.” ἐπιπλήττων δ’ ὁ
Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ λόγῳ, “ποῖ παρατενεῖς,” ἔφη,
“δεδιὼς ταῦτα καὶ μήπω γιγνώσκων, ὅτι σοφία
μὲν τὰ ξυνιέντα ἑαυτῆς ἐκπλήττει πάντα, αὐτὴ δ’
ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἐκπλήττεται;” “ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς,” εἶπε,
“παρὰ ἀξύνετον ἤκομεν, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ
ἐκπληττόμενον ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἀξιούντα εἶναί τι,
ὃ ἐκπλήσσει αὐτόν.” “ξυνίης οὖν,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

mingled in the bowl of wine certain drugs from CHAP. XXII
Egypt in order to drown the heart-ache of the
heroes; well, I think that Helen must have picked
up the lore of the Egyptians, and have sung spells
over the dejected heroes through their bowl of wine,
so healing them by a blending of words and wine.”
“And that is likely enough,” said Damis, “seeing
that she came to Egypt and consorted with Proteus;
or, if we prefer Homer’s account, was well acquainted
with Polydamna, the daughter of Thon. However
let us dismiss these topics for the moment, for I
want to ask you something.” “I know,” said but first
reassures
Damis
Apollonius, “what you are going to ask me, for I am
sure you wish me to tell you what my conversation
was about with the consul, and what he said, and
whether he was formidable and severe or gentle to
me.” And forthwith he told Damis all that had
passed. Thereupon Damis prostrated himself before
him and said: “Now I am ready to believe that
Leucothea did really once give her veil to Odysseus,
after he had fallen out of his ship and was paddling Odyss. 5.
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himself over the sea with his hands. For we are
reduced to just as awful and impossible a plight,
when some god, as it seems to me, stretches out his
hand over us, that we fall not away from all hope of
salvation.” But Apollonius disapproved of the way he
spoke, and said: “How long will you continue to
cherish these fears, as if you could never understand
that wisdom amazes all that is sensible of her, but is
herself not amazed by anything.” “But we,” said
Damis, “are brought here before one who is quite
insensible, and who not only cannot be amazed by us,
but would not allow anything in the world to amaze
him.” “Seest thou not,” said Apollonius, “O

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXII ὅτι τετύφωται καὶ ἀνοήτως ἔχει;” “ ξυνίημι, τί δ’ οὐ μέλλω;” εἶπε. “ καὶ σοὶ δέ,” ἔφη, “ καταφρονητέα τοῦ τυράννου τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ καὶ γιγνώσκεις αὐτόν.”

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Διαλεγομένοις δ’ αὐτοῖς ταῦτα προσελθὼν τις, οἶμαι, Κίλιξ, “ ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “ ἄνδρες, ὑπὲρ πλούτου κινδυνεύω.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ εἰ μὲν ἂν οὐ θεμιτόν,” ἔφη, “ πλουτῶν, οἷον ληστείας ἢ φαρμάκων, ἃ δὴ ἀνδροφύνα, ἢ τάφους κινήσας, ὅσοι τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων εἰσίν, οἱ πολύχρυσοί τε καὶ θησαυρώδεις, οὐ κρίνεσθαί σε χρὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπολωλέναι, ταυτὶ γὰρ πλοῦτος μὲν, ἀλλ’ ἐπίρρητός τε καὶ ὤμός. εἰ δὲ κληρονομήσας ἢ διδούσης ἐμπορίας ἐλευθερίου τε καὶ μὴ καπήλου, τίς οὕτω βαρύς, ὥς ἀφελέσθαι σε νόμου σχήματι τὰ κτηθέντα σοι κατὰ νόμους;” “ τὰ μὲν ὄντα μοι παρὰ πλειόνων,” ἔφη, “ ξυγγενῶν ἐστίν, ἐς μίαν δ’ οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἵκει, χρώμαι δ’ αὐτοῖς οὐθ’ ὥς ἐτέρων, ἐμὰ γάρ, οὐθ’ ὥς ἐμοῖς, κοινὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐστὶ μοι· διαβάλλουσι δ’ ἡμᾶς οἱ συκοφάνται μὴ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐκτῆσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐμοῦ τε γὰρ νεώτερα πειρωμένου πράττειν ἐφόδιον ἂν γενέσθαι αὐτόν, ἐτέρῳ τε, ὅτῳ προσθείμην, ῥοπὴν ἂν οὐ σμικρὰν τὰμὰ εἶναι. μεμάντευμένοι δ’ ἤδη

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Damis, that he is maddened with pride and vanity?" CHAP. XXII
"I see it, how can I not?" said the other. "Well,"
said Apollonius, "you have got to despise the
despot just in proportion as you get to know him."

XXIII

THEY were talking like this, when someone, a CHAP. XXIII
Cilician I think, came up and said: "I, gentlemen,
am brought to this pass by my wealth." And Story of the rich Cilician
Apollonius replied: "If your wealth was acquired by
other than holy methods, for example by piracy and
administration of deadly drugs, or by disturbing the
tombs of ancient kings which are full of gold and
treasure, you deserve not only to be put on your
trial, but also to forfeit your life; for these things
are wealth no doubt, but of an infamous and
inhuman kind. But if you acquired your wealth by
inheritance or by trade dealings of a fair description
and not by usury, who would be so cruel as to
deprive you under colour of law of what you have
acquired with its venerable sanction?" "My
property," said the other, "has accrued to me from
several of my relations, and has centred itself in
my single household; and I use it, not as if it
belonged to other people, for it is my own: yet not
as my own, for I share it freely with all good men.
But the informers accused me of having acquired my
wealth to the prejudice of the despot; for they say
that, if I attempted a revolution, it would supply me
with resources; while if I attached myself to
another as his accomplice, my wealth would weigh
heavily in his favour. And there is actually an

CAP.
XXIII

καθ' ἡμῶν αἰτίαι, ὡς ὕβριν μὲν τίκτει πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον πλοῦτος, ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν αὐχένα ἴστησι, καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἐγείρει, νόμοις τε οὐκ ἐὰ πείθεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἱ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη φοιτῶσι, μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ κόρρῃς παίει δουλουμένους τοῖς χρήμασιν ἢ ὑπερορῶντας αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ πλούτου.

Ἐγὼ δὲ μεिरάκιον μὲν ὦν, πρὶν οὐσίαν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων ἐκτῆσθαι, κατὰ γελων ἡγούμην πάντα, καὶ σμικρὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄντων ἐδεδίειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τάλαντά μοι πεντακόσια ἐπὶ μιᾷς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο τελευτήσαντος ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς θείου, τοσοῦτον ἡ γνώμη μετέβαλεν, ὅσον οἱ καταρτύνοντες τῶν ἵππων καὶ μεταβάλλοντες τοῦ ἀπαιδεύτου τε καὶ ἀκολάστου ἥθους. ἐπιδιδόντος δέ μοι τοῦ πλούτου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐκ θαλάττης φέροντος, οὕτω τι ἐδουλώθην ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν δέους, ὡς ἀπαντλεῖν τῆς οὐσίας τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς συκοφάντας, οὓς ἔδει μειλίττεσθαι τῇ ἀπομαγδαλιᾷ ταύτῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὡς ἰσχὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας εἶη μοι, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς, ὡς μὴ φθονοῖεν τῷ πλούτῳ, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους, ὡς μὴ κακίους γίγνοιτο ἀμελεῖσθαι φάσκοντες, ἐβουκολεῖτο δέ μοι καὶ ἀγέλη φίλων λαμπρά· προορῶντες γὰρ οὗτοί μου τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ ἔδρων, τὰ δέ μοι προῦλεγον.

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oracular air about the charges made against us, such as that all excess of wealth engenders insolence, or that more than ordinary wealth makes its owner carry his head too high and rouses in him a spirit of pride ; and that it prevents him from being a good subject and obeying the laws and rulers who are sent to the provinces ; they say indeed that it is very nearly tantamount to giving them a box on the ears, because they grovel to wealthy men or connive at their crime, on account of the influence which wealth gives. CHAP.
XXIII

“ Now when I was a stripling, before I had as much as a hundred talents to call my own, I used to think such apprehensions as these ridiculous and I had small anxiety on the score of my property ; but when my paternal uncle died and in a single day I came in for a reversion of five hundred talents, my mind underwent such a change as those who break horses effect, when they cure them of being unruly and intractable. And as my riches increased and flowed in to me by land and by sea, I became so much the slave of anxiety about them, that I poured out my substance, partly upon sycophants whom I had to flatter in order to stop their mouths by means of such blackmail, and partly upon governors whose influence I wished to enlist on my side against those who plotted against me, and partly on my kinsmen, to prevent them being jealous of my wealth, and partly on my slaves for fear they should become worse than they were and complain of being neglected. And I also had to support a magnificent flock of friends, for the latter were full of solicitude for me ; and some insisted on helping me with their own hands, and

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CAP.
XXIII

ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω μὲν χαρακώσαντες τὸν πλοῦτον, οὕτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς τειχισάμενοι, κινδυνεύομεν περὶ αὐτῷ νῦν, καὶ οὐπω δῆλον οὐδ' εἰ τὸ σῶμα ἀθῶοι μενούμεν.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “θάρρει,” ἔφη, τὸν γὰρ πλοῦτον τοῦ σώματος ἐγγυητὴν ἔχεις· δέδεσαι μὲν γὰρ δι' αὐτόν, ἀνήσει δέ σε ἀπολυόμενον οὐ μόνον τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τοῦδε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεραπεύειν τοὺς συκοφάντας τε καὶ τοὺς δούλους, οἷς δι' αὐτὸν ὑπέκεισο.”

XXIV

CAP.
XXIV

Ἐτέρου δ' αὖ φήσαντος γραφὴν φεύγειν, ἐπειδὴ θύων ἐν Τάραντι, οὗ ἦρχε, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς δημοσίαις εὐχαῖς, ὅτι Δουετιανὸς Ἀθηναῖς εἶη παῖς, “σὺ μὲν ῥήθης,” ἔφη, “μὴ ἂν τὴν Ἀθηναίων τέκεῖν, παρθένον οὔσαν τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἡγνόεις δ', οἶμαι, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ δράκοντα ἔτεκε.”

XXV

CAP.
XXV

Καθεῖρκτό τις καὶ ἐπὶ τοιαῦδε αἰτία· χωρίον ἐν Ἀκαρνανίᾳ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελώου ἔχων περιέπλει τὰς Ἐχινάδας ἐν ἀκατίῳ μικρῷ, διασκεψαμένος δε αὐτῶν μίαν, ἣ ξυνήπτεν ἤδη τῇ

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others with their warnings and advice. But although I thus fenced my wealth about, and surrounded myself so securely with fortifications, I now am imperilled by it, and I am not yet sure that I shall escape with my life." And Apollonius answered: "Take heart, for you have your wealth to go surety for your life; for if it is your wealth which has led to your being confined in bonds, it is your wealth also which, when it is dissipated, will not only release you from this prison, but from the necessity of cherishing and flattering those sycophants and slaves whose yoke it has imposed upon your neck."

CHAP.
XXIII

XXIV

ANOTHER man came and said that he was being prosecuted, because at a public sacrifice in Tarentum, where he held office, he had omitted to mention in the public prayers that Domitian was the son of Athene. Said Apollonius: "You imagined that Athene could not possibly have a son, because she is a virgin for ever and ever; but you forgot, methinks, that this goddess once on a time bore a dragon to the Athenians."

CHAP.
XXIV
Domitian
the son
of Athene

XXV

ANOTHER man was confined in the prison on the following charge: He had a property in Acarnania near the mouth of the Achelous; and he had been in the habit of sailing about the islands called the Echinades in a small boat, and he noticed that one of them was already joined to the mainland;

CHAP.
XXV
Story of
the man
from the
Achelous

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXV ἡπείρω, δένδρεσί τε ὠραίοις διεφύτευσε καὶ ἀμπέλ-
λοις ἡδυοίνοις, δίαιτάν τε ἰκανὴν τῷ σώματι κατε-
σκευάσατο ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς
ἡπείρου ἐσήγετο ἀποχρῶν τῇ νήσῳ· ἐκ τούτου
ἀνέφνυ γραφή, μὴ καθαρὸς εἶναι ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν οὗτος,
ἔργα δὲ αὐτῷ ξυνειδὼς οὐ φορητά, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης
γῆς ἐξίσταθαί τε καὶ ἀποφοιτᾶν ὥς μεμιασμένης
ἐαυτῷ, τὴν δ' Ἀλκμαίωνος τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω λύσιν,
δι' ἣν τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελῷου μετὰ τὴν μητέρα
ᾤκησεν, ἡρῆσθαι αὐτον, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐφ' ὁμοίοις,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σχετλίοις ἴσως καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἐκείνων· ὁ
δ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἔφασκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπραγμοσύνης ἐρῶν ἐκεῖ
οἰκῆσαι, τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐς δίκας αὐτῷ περιστῆναι, δι'
ἃς καὶ εἰρχθαι αὐτόν.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI Προσιόντων δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πλειόνων ἔνδον
καὶ ὀλοφυρομένων τοιαῦτα, πεντήκοντα γάρ που
εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν νοσεῖν
αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀθύμως παρεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐγκαρτερεῖν
τὸν θάνατον, οἱ δ' ἐπιβοᾶσθαι τέκνα καὶ γονέας
τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ γάμους, “ὦ Δάμι,” ἔφη, “δοκοῦσί
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and he planted it all over with pleasant trees and vines, producing sweet wine. So he made in it a convenient habitation for himself, for he also brought in water in sufficient quantities for the island from the mainland. In consequence, an accusation was trumped up against him, that he had a guilty conscience, and that it was because he was conscious of having committed crimes of an intolerable description, that he transported himself and quitted his own land, feeling that he polluted it, and at the same time had chosen for himself the same form of release as Alcmaeon the son of Amphiareus had done, when after his mother's murder he went and lived on the delta of the Achelous. Even if he had not committed the same crime as Alcmaeon, he must yet, they said, have on his conscience horrible deeds, not falling far short of his. Although he denied these insinuations, and declared that he only went to live there for the sake of peace and quiet, he had nevertheless, he said, been accused and brought to justice, and for this reason he was now cast into prison.

CHAP.
XXV.

XXVI

SEVERAL prisoners, for there were about fifty of them in this prison, approached Apollonius inside it, and uttered such lamentations as the above. Some of them were sick, some of them had given way to dejection, some of them expected death with certainty and with resignation, some of them bewailed and called upon their children and their parents and their wives. Whereupon, "O Damis," said Apol-

CHAP.
XXVI

Apollonius
consoles the
prisoners

CAP.
XXVI

μοι τοῦ φαρμάκου δεῖσθαι οἱ ἄνδρες, οὐ καταρχὰς ἐπεμνήσθην, εἴτ' οὖν Αἰγύπτιον τοῦτο, εἴτ' ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ φύεται, ῥιζοτομούσης αὐτὸ σοφίας ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς κήπων, προσδῶμεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀθλίοις τούτοις, μὴ προανέλη σφᾶς ἢ γνώμῃ.” “προσδῶμεν,” ἢ δ' ὅς ὁ Δάμις, “εἰκότασι γὰρ δεομένοις.” ξυγκαλέσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἄνδρες,” εἶπεν, “οἱ κοινωνοῦντες ἐμοὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς στέγης, ἐλεῶ ὑμᾶς, ὥς ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυσθε, οὐπω εἰδότες, εἰ κατηγορία ἀπολεῖ ὑμᾶς· δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι προαποκτινύντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ καταψηφισθέντος ἂν ὑμῶν, ὥς οἴεσθε, θανάτου, καὶ θαρρεῖν μὲν ἂ δέδιτε, δεδιέναι δ' ἂ θαρρεῖτε. οὐ μὴν προσήκει γε, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμηθέντας τὸν Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ Παρίου λόγον, ὅς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς λυπηροῖς καρτερίαν τλημοσύνην καλῶν, θεῶν αὐτὴν φησιν εἶναι εὖρημα ἀναφέρειν τῶν σχετλίων τούτων, ὥσπερ οἱ τέχνη τοῦ ῥοθίου ὑπεραίροντες, ἐπειδὰν τὸ κύμα ὑπὲρ τὴν ναῦν ἰστῆται, μὴδ' ἡγεῖσθαι χαλεπὰ ταῦτα, ἐφ' ἃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἄκουτες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκὼν ἤκω.

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ξυντίθεσθε ταῖς αἰτίαις, ὀλοφυρτέα ἢ ἡμέρα μᾶλλον, ἐν ᾗ ὁ λογισμὸς ἐς ἄδικά τε καὶ ὠμὰ ὀρμήσας ὑμᾶς ἔσφηλεν, εἰ δ' οὔτε σὺ τὴν ἐν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

lonius, affected by the spectacle, "it seems to me CHAP.
XXVI that these people need the drug which I alluded to when I first entered. Whether it be an Egyptian remedy, or whether it grows in every land and only needs wisdom enough to cut it from its root out of her own gardens, let us administer some of it to these poor people, lest their own feelings destroy them before Domitian can do it." "Let us do so," said Damis, "for they seem in need of it." Accordingly Apollonius called them all together and said: "Gentlemen, who are sharing with me the hospitality of this poor roof, I am wrung with pity for you, because I feel that you are undoing yourselves, before you know in the least whether the accuser will undo you. For it seems to me that you are ready to put yourselves to death and anticipate the death sentence which you expect will be pronounced against you; and so you show actual courage where you should feel fear, and fear where you should be courageous. This should not be; but you should bear in mind the words of Archilochus of Paros who says that the patience under adversity which he called endurance was a veritable discovery of the gods; for it will bear you up in your misery, just as a skilful pilot carries the bow of his ship above the wash of the sea, whenever the billows are raised higher than his bark. Nor should you consider as desperate this situation into which you have been brought against your wills, but I myself of my own accord.

For if you admit the charges brought against you, you ought rather to deplore the day, when your judgment and impulses betrayed you into unjust and cruel courses of action. But if you, my friend yonder, deny that you took up your residence

τῷ Ἀχελώῳ νῆσον ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατήγορός φησιν ἑρεῖς ὥκηκέναι, οὔτε σὺ τὸν σεαυτοῦ πλούτον ἔφεδρόν ποτε τῇ βασιλείᾳ στήσασθαι, οὔθ' ἐκὼν σὺ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶς δοκεῖν ἀφηρῆσθαι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀφίχθε κινδυνεύων ἕκαστος, ἀληθῇ ταῦτα εἶναι φήσει, τί βούλεταί," φησιν, "ὁ ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων θρῆνος οὗτος; ὅσῳ γάρ, τοὺς οἰκαιοτάτους ἐπιβοᾷσθε, τοσῶδε χρὴ ἐρρῶσθαι μᾶλλον, ἄθλα γάρ που τῆς τλημοσύνης ταύτης ἐκεῖνα. ἢ τὸ καθεῖρχθαι δεῦρο δεινὸν εἶναί φατε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ζῆν; ἢ ἀρχὴν ὧν πείσεσθαι ἡγείσθε; ἢ καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ τιμωρίαν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάθοιτε; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν εἰδὼς φύσιν, ἀναδιδάξω λόγον ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν εἰκότα τοῖς τῶν ἱατρῶν σιτίοις, καὶ γὰρ ἰσχὺν ἐντίθησι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἐάσει· οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ ἔσμεν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ὃς δὴ ὠνόμασται βίος· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ σώματι φθαρτῷ ἐνδεθείσα πολλὰ μὲν καρτερεῖ, δουλεύει δὲ πᾶσιν, ὅποσα ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον φοιτᾷ, οἰκία τε οἷς ἐπενοήθη πρῶτον, ἀγνοῆσαί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄλλο δεσμωτήριον αὐτοῖς περιβάλλοντες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὅποσοι τὰ βασίλεια οἰκοῦσιν, ἀσφαλῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς κατεσκευασμένοι, δεδέσθαι μᾶλλον τούτους ἡγώμεθα ἢ οὓς αὐτοὶ δήσουσι.

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in the island of the Achelous, for the reason which your accuser alleges; and you there, that you ever raised your wealth to the peril and endangering of the sovereignty; and you again that you of set purpose deprived the sovereign of his pretension to be called the son of Athene,—if, I say, you can prove that the several reasons alleged for your being, each of you, here in such parlous plights, are unfounded, what then is the meaning of all this lamentation about things which have no existence or reality? For instead of crying after your friends and relatives, you ought rather to feel just as much courage as you now feel despair; for such I imagine are the rewards of the endurance I have described. But perhaps you would argue that confinement here and life in a prison are hard to bear in themselves? Or do you look upon them as the mere beginning of what you expect to suffer? Or do you think that they are punishment sufficient in themselves, even if you are exposed to nothing else in the way of penalty? Well, I understand human nature, and I will preach you a sermon which is very unlike the prescriptions of physicians, for it shall implant strength in you and will avert death from you. We men are in a prison all that time which we choose to call life. For this soul of ours, being bound and fettered in a perishable body, has to endure many things, and be the slave of all the affections which visit humanity; and the men who first invented a dwelling seem to me not to have known that they were only surrounding their kind in a fresh prison; for, to tell you the truth, all those who inhabit palaces and have established themselves securely in them, are, I consider, in closer bonds in them than any whom they may throw into bonds.

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Πόλεις δ' ἐνθυμουμένῳ μοι καὶ τείχη δόκεῖ ταῦτα δεσμωτήρια εἶναι κοινά, ὥς δεδέσθαι μὲν ἀγοράζοντας, δεδέσθαι δὲ ἐκκλησιάζοντας καὶ θεωμένους αὐτὰ καὶ πομπὰς πέμποντας. καὶ Σκυθῶν ὅποσοι ἀμαξεύουσιν, οὐ μείον ἡμῶν δέδενται, Ἰστροὶ τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὀρίζουσι καὶ Θερμώδοντες καὶ Τανάϊδες οὐ ῥάδιοι ποταμοὶ ὑπερβῆναι, ἣν μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρυμοῦ στῶσιν, οἰκίας τε ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν πέπανται καὶ φέρονται μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἐπτηχότες. εἰ δὲ μὴ μεираκιώδης ὁ λόγος, φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν δεσμοῦ ἔνεκα τῇ γῇ περιβεβληθῆσαι. ἔτε, ὦ ποιηταί, ταυτὶ γὰρ ὑμέτερα, καὶ ῥαψωδεῖτε πρὸς τούτους τοὺς ἀθύρους, ὥς Κρόνος μὲν ποτε ἐδέθη βουλαῖς τοῦ Διός, Ἄρης δὲ ὁ πολεμικώτατος ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἑφαίστου πρότερον, ἐν γῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἀλωέως. ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς δῆμοι ἀσελγεῖς ἔδησαν, τυραννίδες δὲ προὔπηλάκισαν, δεχόμεθα καὶ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ τῶν δεξαμένων αὐτὰ λειποίμεθα." οὕτω τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὰ ῥηθέντα μετέβαλεν, ὥς σίτου τε οἱ πολλοὶ ἄψασθαι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν τῶν δακρύων, βῆναί τε ἐπ' ἐλπίδος μηδ' ἂν παθεῖν μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ ξυνόντες.

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“ And when I think of cities and walls, it seems CHAP.
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to me that these are common prisons, so that the merchants are in chains, in chains no less the members of the Assembly, and the frequenters also of spectacles, as well as those who organise public processions. Then there are the Scythians who go about upon waggons ; they are just as much in chains as ourselves ; for rivers like the Ister and the Thermodon and the Tanais, hem them in, and they are very difficult to cross, except when they are hard frozen ; and they fix up their houses on their waggons, and they imagine they are driving about, when they are merely cowering in them. And if you don't think it too silly a thing to say, there are those who teach that the ocean also encompasses the earth in order to chain it in. Come, O ye poets, for this is your domain. Recite your rhapsodies to this despondent crowd, and tell them how Kronos was once put in bonds by the wiles of Zeus ; and Ares, the most warlike of the gods, was first enchained in heaven by Hephaestus, and later upon earth by the sons of Alois. When we think of these things, and reflect on the many wise and blessed men who have been thrown into prison by wanton mobs, or insulted by despots, let us accept our fate with resignation, that we may not be found inferior to those who have accepted the same before us.” Such were the words which he addressed to his companions in the prison, and they had such an effect upon them that most of them took their food and wiped away their tears, and walked in hope, believing that they could never come to harm as long as they were in his company.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXVII

CAP.
XXVII

Τῆς δ' ὑστεραίας διελέγετο μὲν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν ξυντείνων, ἐσπέμπεται δέ τις ἀκροατῆς τῶν διαλέξεων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ καθειμένος· τὸ μὲν δὴ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ κατηφῆς ἐδόκει, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τι, ὡς ἔφασκε, μέγα, γλώττης τε οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδεύτως εἶχεν, οἷοι τῶν συκοφαντικῶν οἱ συνειλοχότες ὀκτῶ ῥήματα ἢ δέκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνιὲς τῆς τέχνης διελέγετο, ἃ μὴ ἐκείνῳ προὔβαινε, ποταμῶν τε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐμέμνητο καὶ ὀρῶν, καὶ θηρία διῆει καὶ δένδρα, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ μὲν διήγοντο, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν ἐς λοιδορίας τοῦ τυράννου ἐπειρᾶτο, “ὦ τᾶν,” ἔφη, “σὺ μὲν, ὅ τι βούλει, λέγε, οὐ γὰρ διαβεβλήσῃ γε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποσα μέμφομαι τὸν βασιλέα, πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξω.”

XXVIII

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XXVIII

Ἐγένετο καὶ ἕτερα ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ τούτῳ ἐπεισόδια, τὰ μὲν ἐπιβεβουλευμένα, τὰ δέ, ὡς ξυνέπεσεν, οὕτω μεγάλα, οὐδ' ἄξια ἐμοὶ σπουδάσαι, Δάμις δέ, οἶμαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραλελοιπέναι τι αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθη, τὰ δὲ λόγου ἐχόμενα· ἐσπέρα μὲν ἦν, καθεῖρκτο δὲ ἡμέραν ἤδη πέμπτην, παρελ-
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ON the next day he was haranguing them in a discourse of the same tenor, when a man was sent into the prison privately by Domitian to listen to what he said. In his deportment this person had a downcast air, and, as he himself admitted, looked as if he ran a great risk. He had great volubility of speech, as is usually the case with sycophants who have been chosen to draw up eight or ten informations. Apollonius saw through the trick and talked about themes which could in no way serve his purpose; for he told his audience about rivers and mountains, and he described wild animals and trees to them, so that they were amused, while the informer gained nothing to his purpose. And when he tried to draw him away from these subjects and get him to abuse the tyrant, "My good friend," said Apollonius, "you say what you like, for I am the last man in the world to inform against you; but if I find anything to blame in the Emperor, I'll say it to his face."

CHAP.
XXVII
His
repatee
to an
informer

XXVIII

THERE followed other episodes in this prison, some of them insidiously contrived, and others of mere chance, and not of sufficient importance to merit my notice. But Damis, I believe, has recorded them in his anxiety to omit nothing; I only give what is to the point. It was evening, and it was already the fifth day of his imprisonment, when a certain person entered the prison, who spoke the

CHAP.
XXVIII
An emissary
of Aelian
describes
the
emperor's
appearance

θὼν δέ τις ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, Ἑλληνικὸς τὴν φωνήν, “ποῦ,” ἔφη, “ὁ Τυανεύς;” καὶ ἀπολαβὼν αὐτόν, “αὔριον,” ἔφη, “διαλέξεται σοι ὁ βασιλεύς.” Αἰλιανοῦ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκηκοέναι ἐδόκει.¹ “ξυνίημι,” ἦ δ’ ὅς, “τοῦ ἀπορρήτου, μόνου γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνου εἰδέναι αὐτό.” “καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου προείρηται,” ἔφη, “πᾶν, εἴ τι βούλοιο, ἐπιτηδείῳ σοι εἶναι.” “καλῶς μὲν ποιοῦντες ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐνταῦθα βίον καὶ τὸν ἔξω ταῦτόν πράττω, διαλέγομαι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν παραπιπτόντων, δέομαι δ’ οὐδενός.” “οὐδὲ τοῦ ξυμβουλευσόντος,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, ὡς διαλέξη τῷ βασιλεῖ;” “νὴ Δῖ,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ κολακεύειν πείθοι.” “τί δ’, εἰ μὴ ὑπερορᾶν,” ἔφη, “μηδ’ ὑπερφρονεῖν αὐτοῦ;” “ἄριστα,” εἶπε, “ξυμβουλεύσει καὶ ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα.” “ὑπὲρ τούτων μὲν ἤκω,” ἔφη, “καὶ χαίρω παρεσκευασμένον σε ὁρῶν ξυμμέτρως, δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθέγμα τοῦ βασιλέως παρεσκευάσθαι σε καὶ πρὸς τὸ δύστροπον τοῦ προσώπου, φθέγγεται μὲν γὰρ βαρὺ, καὶν πρῶως διαλέγεται, ἦ δ’ ὀφρὺς ἐπὶ κείται τῷ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἥθει, μεστή δ’ ἡ παρειὰ χολῆς, τουτὶ γὰρ μάλιστα ἐπιφαίνει. ταῦτα, ὦ Τυανεῦ, μὴ ἐκπληττώμεθα, ἔστι γὰρ φύσεως μᾶλλον καὶ αἰὲ ὅμοια.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολ-

¹ Kayser reads δοκεῖ, and makes the spy's words extend so far.

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Hellenic tongue, and said : "Where is the man of Tyana?" And taking Apollonius aside he said : "It is to-morrow that the Emperor will give you an audience." And this he appeared to have heard direct from Aelian. "I will keep your secret," said Apollonius, "for it is only Aelian, I think, who can know so much." "Moreover," said the other, "word has been given to the chief jailor to supply you with everything which you may want." "You are very kind," said Apollonius, "but I lead exactly the same life here as I would outside; for I converse about casual topics, and I do not need anything." "And do you not, O Apollonius, need someone to advise you how to converse with the Emperor?" "Yes, by heaven," he replied, "if only he will not try to get me to flatter him." "And what if he merely advised you not to slight him nor flout him?" "He could give no better advice," said Apollonius, "and it is what I have made up my own mind to do." "Well, it was about this that I am come," said the other, "and I am delighted to find you so sensibly disposed; but you ought to be prepared for the way in which the Emperor speaks, and also for the disagreeable quality of his face; for he talks in a deep voice, even if he is merely engaged in a gentle conversation, and his eyebrows overhang the sockets of his eyes and his cheeks are so bloated with bile, that this distinguishes him more than anything else. We must not be frightened, O man of Tyana, by these characteristics, for they rather belong to nature than to anything else, and they always are the same." And Apollonius replied :

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CAP.
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Λώνιος, “Ὀδυσσεὺς μέντοι,” ἔφη, “παριὼν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πολυφήμου ἄντρον, καὶ μήτε ὁπόσος ἐστὶ προακηκοὺς πρότερον, μηδ’ οἷα σιτεῖται, μηδ’ ὡς βροντᾶ ἢ φωνή, ἐθάρρησέ τε αὐτὸν καίτοι ἐν ἀρχῇ δείσας, καὶ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ ἄντρου ἀνὴρ δόξας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐξελθεῖν αὐταρκες ἐμαυτὸν τε σώσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους, ὑπὲρ ὧν κινδυνεύω.” τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἥκοντα καὶ ἀπαγγείλας αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ἐκάθευδεν.

XXIX

CAP.
XXIX

Περὶ δὲ ὄρθρον γραμματεὺς τις ἦκων τῶν βασιλείων δικῶν, “κελεύει σε ὁ βασιλεὺς,” ἔφη, “ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰν ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν ἤκειν, οὗπω ἀπολογησόμενον, ἀλλ’ ἰδεῖν τέ σε, ὅστις ὧν τυγχάνεις, βούλεται καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι μόνῳ.” “τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐμοὶ διαλέγη;” “οὐ γὰρ σύ,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιος;” “νῆ Δί’,” εἶπεν, “ὁ Τυανεύς γε.” “πρὸς τίνα οὖν,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα εἶπω;” “πρὸς τοὺς ἄξοντάς με,” εἶπε, “χρὴ γάρ που ὡς ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου φοιτᾶν.” “προστέτακται,” ἔφη, “προτέροις γε ἐκείνοις ταῦτα, καὶ γὰρ δὲ ἀφίξομαι τοῦ καιροῦ, νυνὶ δὲ παραγγελῶν ἦλθον, ταυτὶ γὰρ μάλα ἐσπέρας προστέτακται.”

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“ If Odysseus could go into the cave of Polyphemus, without having been informed beforehand either of the giant’s size, or what he ate, or of how he thundered with his voice, and yet did not lose his presence of mind, though he was in some trepidation to begin with ; and if he left his cave after acquitting himself like a man, I too shall be quite satisfied if I get off with my own life and with that of my companions, in whose behalf I incur this risk.” Such were the words that passed between him and his visitor, and after reporting them to Damis he went to sleep.

CHAP.
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AND about dawn a notary came from the Royal court, and said : “ It is the Emperor’s orders, O Apollonius, that you should repair to his court at the time when the market-place is full ; not indeed as yet to make your defence, for he wants to see you and find out who you are, and to talk with you alone.” “ And why,” said Apollonius, “ do you trouble me with these details ? ” “ Are you not then Apollonius ? ” said the other. “ Yes, by Heaven,” he said, “ and of Tyana too.” “ To whom then,” said the other, “ should I give this message ? ” “ To those who will take me thither,” he replied, “ for I suppose that I shall have to get out of this prison somehow.” “ Orders have already been given,” replied the other, “ to them, and I will come here in good time, and I only came to give you the message now, because the orders were issued late last night.”

CHAP.
XXIX
The emperor summons Apollonius into his presence

CAP.
XXX

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἀναπαύσας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, “ὑπνου,” ἔφη, “δέομαι, Δάμι, χαλεπὴ γάρ μοι ἡ νύξ γέγονεν ἀναμνησθῆναι βουλομένῳ ὧν Φραώτου ποτὲ ἤκουσα.” “καὶ μὴν ἐγρηγορέναι τε,” εἶπεν, “ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον καὶ ξυντάττειν ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ παρηγγελμένον μέγα οὕτως ὄν.” “καὶ πῶς ἂν ξυνταττοίμην,” ἔφη, “μηδέ, τί ἐρήσεται, εἰδώς;” “αὐτοσχεδιάσεις οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ὑπὲρ τοῦ βίου;” “νῆ Δί’,” ἔφη “ὦ Δάμι, αὐτοσχεδίῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ χρῶμαι. ἀλλ’ ὅ γε ἀνεμνήσθην τοῦ Φραώτου βούλομαι διελθεῖν πρὸς σέ, χρηστὸν γὰρ ἐς τὰ παρόντα καὶ σοὶ δόξει· τοὺς λέοντας, οὓς τιθασεύουσιν ἄνθρωποι, κελεύει Φραώτης μήτε παίειν, μνησικακεῖν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἰ παίοιντο, μήτε θεραπεύειν, ἀγερῶχους γὰρ ἐκ τούτου γίγνεσθαι, ξὺν ἀπειλῇ δὲ μᾶλλον καταψῶντας ἐς εὐάγωγα ἤθη ἄγειν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν λεόντων εἶπεν, οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ θηρίων ἀγωγῆς ἐσπουδάζομεν, ἀλλ’ ἡνίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους διδούς, ἢ χρωμένους οὐκ ἂν ἐκπεσεῖν ἠγεῖτο τοῦ ξυμμέτρου.” “ἄριστα μέν,” ἔφη, “ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐς τὰ τυράννων ἤθη εἴρηται, ἀλλ’ ἔστι τις καὶ παρὰ τῷ Αἰσώπῳ λέων ὁ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, φησὶ δ’

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HE accordingly went away : but Apollonius after resting himself a little while on his bed said, "Damis, I need sleep, for I have had a bad night trying to remember what Phraotes once told me." "Well," said the other, "if you had to keep awake, you had much better have occupied yourself in preparing for so great an occasion as now is announced to you." "And how could I prepare myself," said Apollonius, "when I do not even know what questions he will ask of me?" "Then are you going to defend your life extempore?" said Damis. "Yes, by Heaven," he replied, "for it is an extempore life that I have always led. But I want to tell you what I could remember of the conversation of Phraotes, for I think you will find it very profitable under the circumstances. Phraotes enjoined the tamers of lions not to strike them, for he said that they bear you a grudge if they are struck ; but also not to flatter them, because that tends to make them proud and fierce ; but he advised them rather to stroke them with the hand at the same time that they threatened them, as the best way of reducing them to obedience and docility. Well, he made these remarks not really about lions,—for we were not interested about how to keep lions and wild beasts,—but he was really supplying a curb and rein for tyrants of such a kind as he thought would in practice keep them within the lines of good sense and moderation." "This story," said Damis, "is indeed most apposite to the manners of tyrants ; but there is also a story in Aesop about a certain lion

CHAP.
XXX
The advice
of Phraotes
to lion-
tamers

CAP.
XXX αὐτὸν ὁ Αἰσωπος οὐ νοσεῖν μέν, δοκεῖν δέ, καὶ τῶν
θηρίων, ἃ ἐφοίτα παρ' αὐτόν, ἅπτεσθαι, τὴν δὲ
ἀλώπεκα, τί τούτῳ χρησόμεθα, εἰπεῖν, παρ' οὐ
μηδὲ ἀναλύει τις, μηδὲ δείκνυταί τι τῶν ἐξιόντων
ἵχνος ;” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ ἀλλ' ἐγώ,” ἔφη,
“ σοφωτέραν τὴν ἀλώπεκα ἡγούμεν ἅν, εἰ παρ-
ελθοῦσα ἔσω μὴ ἤλω, ἀλλ' ἐξῆλθε τοῦ σπηλαίου
τὰ ἵχνη τὰ ἐαυτῆς δεικνύσα.”

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CAP.
XXXI Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὕπνου ἔσπασε κομιδῇ βραχὺ καὶ
ὅσον ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἦλθεν, ἡμέρα δ' ὥς ἐγένετο,
προσευξάμενος τῷ Ἥλίῳ, ὥς ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ
εἰκός, διελέγετο τοῖς προσιούσιν, ὅποσα ἡρώτων,
καὶ οὕτως ἀγορᾶς πληθούσης ἀφικνεῖται γραμ-
ματεὺς, κελεύων ἐπὶ θύρας ἥδη εἶναι, “ μὴ καὶ
θᾶπτον,” ἔφη, “ ἐσκληθῶμεν.” ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν, “ ἴω-
μεν,” ξὺν ὁρμῇ προῆλθε. πορευομένων δ' αὐτῷ
δορυφόροι ἐπηκολούθουν τέτταρες, πλέον ἀπέχον-
τες ἢ οἱ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα ὁμαρτοῦντες, ἐφείπετο δὲ
καὶ ὁ Δάμις δεδιὼς μέν, ξυννοοῦντι δ' ὅμοιος.
έώρων μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἅπαντες, αὐτοῦ
τε γὰρ τοῦ σχήματος ἀπεβλέπετο, καὶ θεία ἐδόκει
ἢ περὶ τῷ εἶδει ἐκπληξίς, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἥκειν

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who lived in a cave, and Aesop says that he was not sick, but only pretended to be so, and that he seized on other wild animals who went to visit him; and accordingly the fox made the remark: ‘What are we to do with him, for no one ever quits his residence, nor are any tracks to be seen of his visitors going out again?’” And Apollonius remarked: “Well, as for myself I should have regarded your fox as a cleverer animal, if he had gone in to see the lion, and instead of being caught had issued from the cave safely and left clear tracks behind him.”

CHAP.
XXX

XXXI

AFTER making this remark he took a short nap, just enough to close his eyes, and when day came he offered his prayers to the Sun, as best he could in prison, and then he conversed with all who came up and asked him questions; and so about the time when the market fills a notary came and ordered him to repair at once to the court, adding: “Lest we should not get there in time for the summons into his presence.” And Apollonius said: “Let us go,” and eagerly went forth. And on the way four body-guards followed him, keeping at a greater distance from him than would an escort appointed merely to guard him. And Damis also followed in his train, in some trepidation indeed, but apparently plunged in thought. Now the eyes of all were turned upon Apollonius, for not only were they attracted by his dress and bearing, but there was a godlike look in his eyes, which struck them with astonishment; and moreover the fact

CHAP.
XXXI
Apollonius
is escorted
to the
palace

ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν κινδυνεύσοντα καὶ τοὺς βασκαίνοντας αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐπιτηδείους ἐποίει τότε. προσεστὼς δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεραπευομένους ὀρώων, τοὺς δὲ θεραπεύοντας, ἐσιόντων τε καὶ ἐξιόντων κτύπον, “δοκεῖ μοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι, βαλανείῳ ταῦτα εἰκάσθαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔξω ἔσω ὀρῶ σπεύδοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἔσω ἔξω, παραπλήσιοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ μὲν ἐκλελουμένοις, οἱ δ’ ἀλούτοις.” τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἄσυλον κελεύω φυλάττειν καὶ μὴ τῷ δεῖνι ἢ τῷ δεῖνι προσγράφειν αὐτόν, οὕτω τι Ἀπολλωνίου ὄντα, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ ἀναγεγράφθαι. ἰδὼν δὲ τινα μάλα πρεσβύτην ἐπιθυμοῦντα μὲν ἄρχειν, δι’ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀρχόμενον καὶ θεραπεύοντα τὸν βασιλέα, “τοῦτον,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι, οὐδὲ Σοφοκλῆς πω πέπεικε τὸν λυττῶντά τε καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγεῖν.” “ὄν ἡμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡρήμεθα· ταῦτά τοι καὶ προσεστήκαμεν θύραις τοιαύταις.” “δοκεῖς μοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι, καὶ τὸν Αἰακόν, ὅσπερ ἐν Αἴδου λέγεται, φρουρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τουτωνὶ τῶν πυλῶν εἶναι, τεθνεῶτι γὰρ δὴ ἔοικας.” “οὐ τεθνεῶτι,” ἔφη, “τεθνηξομένῳ δέ.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἀφυής,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Δάμι, πρὸς τὸν θάνατον εἶναί μοι φαίνη, καίτοι ξυνών μοι χρόνον, ἐκ μειρακίου φιλοσοφῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὥμην παρεσκευά-

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that he had come to Rome to risk his life for his friends conciliated the good wishes even of those who were evilly disposed to him before. When he halted at the Palace and beheld the throng of those who were either being courted or were courting their superiors, and heard the din of those who were passing in and out, he remarked: "It seems to me, O Damis, that this place resembles a bath; for I see people outside hastening in, and those within, hastening out; and some of them resemble people who have been thoroughly well washed, and others those who have not been washed at all." This saying is the inviolable property of Apollonius, and I wish it to be reserved to him and not ascribed to this man and that, for it is so thoroughly and genuinely his, that he has repeated it in one of his letters. There he saw a very old man who was trying to get an appointment, and in order to do so was grovelling before the Emperor and fawning upon him. "Here is one," he said, "O Damis, whom not even Sophocles so far has been able to persuade to run away from a master who is raging mad." "Yes, a master," said Damis, "that we ourselves, Apollonius, have chosen for our own; for that is why we are standing here at such gates as these." "It seems to me, O Damis," said the other, "that you imagine Aeacus to be warden of these gates, as he is said to be of the gates of Hades; for verily you look like a dead man." "Not dead yet," said Damis, "but shortly to be so." And Apollonius answered: "O Damis, you do not seem to me to take very kindly to death, although you have been with me some time, and have studied philosophy from your first youth. But I had imagined that you were prepared

CHAP.
XXXI

Discourse
on a place-
seeker

Plato *Rep.*
329

Apollonius
expostu-
lates with
Damis for
his
cowardice

CAP.
XXXI

σθαι τέ σε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐμοὶ τακτικὴν εἰδέναι πᾶσαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῖς μαχομένοις καὶ ὀπλιτεύουσιν οὐκ εὐψυχίας δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάξεως ἐρμηνευούσης τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς μάχης, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἐπιμελητέα τῶν καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἀποθανοῦνται, ὥς μὴ ἄτακτοι, μηδὲ θανατῶντες, ξὺν ἀρίστη δ' αἰρέσει ἐς αὐτοὺς φέροντο. ὅτι δὲ ἄριστά τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα φιλοσοφία καιρὸν εἰλόμην ἀποθνήσκειν, εἴ τις ἀποκτείνειν βούλοιο, ἑτέροις τε ἀπολελόγημαι σοῦ παρόντος, αὐτόν τε σὲ διδάσκων ἀπείρηκα.”

XXXII

CAP.
XXXII

Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ σχολὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διωσαμένῳ πάντα, ἐς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρί, παρῆγον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ ξυγχωρήσαντες τῷ Δάμιδι ἐπισπένθαι οἱ θαλλοῦ δὲ στέφανον ἔχων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρτι μὲν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τεθυκῶς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν αὐλῇ Ἀδώνιδος, ἥ δὲ αὐλὴ ἀνθέων ἐτεθήλει κήποις, οὓς Ἀδώνιδι Ἀσσύριοι ποιοῦνται ὑπὲρ ὀργίων, ὁμωροφίους αὐτοὺς φυτεύοντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὧν μετεστράφη, καὶ ἐκπλαγεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἵδους τοῦ ἀνδρός, “ Αἴλιανέ,”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

for it, and had also acquainted yourself with all the strategy and tactical resources that I have at my command; for just as men in battle, no matter how heavily armoured they be, require not merely pluck, but also a knowledge of tactics to interpret to them the right opportunities of battle, so also philosophers must wait for the right opportunities when to die; so that they be not taken off their guard, nor like suicides rush into death, but may meet their enemies upon ground of their own good choosing. But that I made my choice well of a moment to die in and found an occasion worthy of a philosopher, supposing anyone wants to kill him, I have both proved to others before whom I defended myself in your presence, and am tired of teaching yourself the same.”

CHAP.
XXXI

XXXII

So far these matters then; but when the Emperor had leisure, having got rid of all his urgent affairs, to give an audience to our sage, the attendants whose office it was conducted him into the palace, without allowing Damis to follow him. And the Emperor was wearing a wreath of green leaves, for he had just been offering a sacrifice to Athene in the hall of Adonis and this hall was bright with baskets of flowers, such as the Syrians at the time of the festival of Adonis make up in his honour, growing them under their very roofs. Though the Emperor was engaged with his religious rites, he turned round, and was so much struck by Apollonius' appearance, that he said: “O Aelian, it

CHAP.
XXXII
His
interview
with
Domitian

CAP.
XXXII

εἶπε, “δαίμονά μοι ἐπεσήγαγες.” ἀλλ’ οὔτε ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καθαπτόμενός τε ὦν ἤκουσεν, “ἐγὼ δέ,” ἔφη, “τὴν Ἀθηναῖν ὥμην ἐπιμεμελησθαί σου, βασιλεῦ, τρόπον; ὃν καὶ τοῦ Διομήδους ποτὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ, τὴν γάρ τοι ἀχλὺν, ὑφ’ ἧς οἱ ἄνθρωποι χεῖρον βλέπουσιν, ἀφελούσα τῶν τοῦ Διομήδους ὀφθαλμῶν, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ θεοὺς τε διαγιγνώσκειν καὶ ἄνδρας, σὲ δ’ οὔπω ἢ θεὸς ἐκάθηρεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν κάθαρσιν ταύτην· ἢ μὴν ἔδει γε, ὡς αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀθηναῖν ὀρώης ἄμεινον τοὺς τε ἄνδρας μὴ ἐς τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων εἶδη τάττοις.” “σὺ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ φιλόσοφε, πότε τὴν ἀχλὺν ἐκαθήρω ταύτην;” “πάλαι,” ἔφη, “κᾶξ ὅτου φιλοσοφῶ.” “πῶς οὖν,” εἶπε, “τοὺς ἐμοὶ πολεμιωτάτους ἄνδρας θεοὺς ἐνόμισας;” “καὶ τίς,” ἔφη, “πρὸς Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἢ πρὸς Φραώτην τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, οὓς ἐγὼ μόνους ἀνθρώπων θεοὺς τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἀξίους τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης;” “μὴ ἄπαγε ἐς Ἰνδοὺς,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φιλτάτου σοι Νερούα καὶ τῶν κοινωνούντων αὐτῷ τῆς αἰτίας λέγε.” “ἀπολογῶμαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ,” ἔφη, “τι ἢ—” “μὴ ἀπολογοῦ,” εἶπεν, ἀδικῶν γὰρ εἴληπται, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὡς αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖς ξυνειδὼς ἐκείνῳ τοιαῦτα, τοῦτό με ἀναδίδασκε.” “εἰ, ἂ ξύνοιδα,” ἔφη, “ἀκούσαι βούλει, ἄκουε, τί γὰρ ἂν τάληθῇ κρύπτοιμι;” ὁ μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

is a demon that you have introduced to me." But Apollonius, without losing his composure, made free to comment upon the Emperor's words, and said: "As for myself, I imagined that Athene was your tutelary goddess, O sovereign, in the same way as she was Diomedes's long ago in Troy; for she removed the mist which dulls the eyes of men from those of Diomedes, and endowed him with the faculty of distinguishing gods from men. But the goddess has not yet purged your eyes as she did his, my sovereign; yet it were well, if Athene did so, that you might behold her more clearly and not confuse mere men with the forms of demons." "And you," said the Emperor, "O philosopher, when did you have this mist cleared away from your eyes?" "Long ago," said he, "and ever since I have been a philosopher." "How comes it then," said the Emperor, "that you have come to regard as gods persons who are most hostile to myself?" "And what hostility," said Apollonius, "is there between yourself and Iarchas or Phraotes, both of them Indians and the only human beings that I regard as gods and meriting such a title?" "Don't try to put me off with Indians," said the Emperor, "but just tell me about your darling Nerva and his accomplices." "Am I to plead his cause," said Apollonius, "or--?" "No, you shall not plead it," said the Emperor, "for he has been taken red-handed in guilt; but just prove to me, if you can, that you are not yourself equally guilty as being privy to his designs." "If," said Apollonius, "you would hear how far I am in his counsel, and privy to his designs, please hear me, for why should I conceal the truth?" Now the Emperor imagined that he

CHAP.
XXXII

Iliad 5, 127

CAP.
XXXII

ἀπορρήτων τε λαμπρῶν ἀκροάσασθαι ἤετο, καὶ ἐς τὸ ξυντεῖνον τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἤκειν πάντα.

XXXIII

CAP.
XXXIII

Ὁ δ' ὥς μετέωρον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης ταύτης εἶδεν. “ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “Νερούαν σωφρονέστατον ἀνθρώπων οἶδα καὶ πρᾶτότατον καὶ σοὶ ἐπιτηδειότατον, καὶ ἄρχοντα μὲν ἀγαθόν, εὐλαβῇ δ' οὕτω πρὸς ὄγκον πραγμάτων, ὥς καὶ τὰς τιμὰς δεδιέναι. οἱ δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτόν, Ῥοῦφον γάρ που λέγεις καὶ Ὀρφιτον, σώφρονες μὲν καὶ οἶδε οἱ ἄνδρες, ὅποσα οἶδα, καὶ διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς πλοῦτον, νωθροὶ δὲ πράττειν ὅποσα ἔξεστι, νεώτερα δὲ οὕτ' ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐνθυμηθεῖεν οὕτ' ἂν ἐτέρῳ ἐνθυμηθέντι ξυνάραιντο.” ἀνοιδήσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, “συκοφάντην με οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἵληφας, ἵν' οὗς ἐγὼ μιαιρωτάτους ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιπηδῶντας εὕρον, σὺ δ', ὥς χρηστοί τέ εἰσι λέγεις, καὶ νωθροί; καὶ γὰρ ἂν κἀκείνους ἡγοῦμαι, ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐρωτωμένους, μήθ' ὥς γόης εἰ φάναι, μήθ' ὥς ἱτης, μήθ' ὥς ἀλαζών, μήθ' ὥς φιλοχρήματος, μήθ' ὥς φρονῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς νόμους. οὕτως, ὦ μιαιρὰ κεφαλαί, κακῶς ξυντέταχθε. ἐλέγξει δ' ἡ κατηγορία πάντα· καὶ γὰρ ὅποσα ὁμώμοται ὑμῖν

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was going to hear Apollonius confess very important secrets, and that whatever transpired would conduce to the destruction of the persons in question.

CHAP.
XXXII

XXXIII

But Apollonius seeing him on tip-toe with expectation, merely said : “ For myself, I know Nerva to be the most moderate of men and the gentlest and the most devoted to yourself, as well as a good ruler ; though he is so averse to meddling in high matters of State, that he shrinks from office. And as for his friends, for I suppose you refer to Rufus and Orphitus,—these men also are discreet, so far as I know, and averse from wealth, somewhat sluggish to do all they lawfully may ; while as for revolution, they are the last people in the world either to plan it or to take part with another who should do so.” But the Emperor was inflamed with anger at what he heard and said : “ Then you mean to say that I am guilty of slander in their cases, since you assert that they are good men, only sluggish, whom I have ascertained to be the vilest of mankind and usurpers of my throne. For I can imagine that they too, if I put the question to them about you, would in their turn deny that you were a wizard and a hot-head and a braggart and a miser, and that you looked down on the laws. And so it is, you accursed rascals, that you all hold together like thieves. But the accusation shall unmask everything ; for I know, as well as if I had been present and taken part in everything, all the oaths which you took, and the objects for

CHAP.
XXXIII
He defends
Nerva to the
Emperor

CAP.
XXXIII

καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ὁπότε καὶ τί θύσασιν, οὐδὲν μείον οἶδα, ἢ εἰ παρετύγχανόν τε καὶ ἐκοινώνουν.” ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκπλαγεῖς, “αἰσχρόν,” ἔφη, “βασιλεῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἢ δικάζειν ὑπὲρ ὧν πέπεισαι ἢ πεπεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ ἐδίκασας. εἰ δ’ οὕτως ἔχει, ξυγχώρησον ἐνθένδε μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας ἄρξασθαι· κακῶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖς, καὶ πλείω με ἀδικεῖς ἢ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἃ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος διδάξειν ἔφη, σὺ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι πέπεισαι.” “τῆς μὲν ἀπολογίας,” εἶπεν, “ὁπόθεν βούλει, ἄρχου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὃ τι παύσομαι οἶδα, καὶ ὁπόθεν ἤδη προσήκει ἄρξασθαι.”

XXXIV

CAP.
XXXIV

Ἀρχεται τὸ ἐνθένδε τῆς ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ὕβρεως, γενείων τε ἀποκείρας αὐτὸν καὶ χαίτης, ἔν τε τοῖς κακουργοτάτοις δήσας. ὁ δ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς κουρᾶς, “ἐλελήθειν, ὦ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “περὶ ταῖς θριξὶν κινδυνεύων.” ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν δεσμῶν, “εἰ μὲν γόητά με ἡγή,” ἔφη, “πῶς δήσεις; εἰ δὲ δήσεις, πῶς γόητα εἶναι φήσεις;” “καὶ ἀνήσω γε οὐ πρότερον,” εἶπεν, “ἢ ὕδωρ γενέσθαι σε ἢ τι θηρίον ἢ δένδρον.” “ταυτὶ μὲν,” ἔφη, “οὐδ’ εἰ δυναίμην, γενοίμην ἄν.”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

which you took them, and when you did it, and what was your preliminary sacrifice." At all this Apollonius did not even blench, but merely remarked: "It is not creditable to you, O sovereign, nor is it congruous with the law, that you should either pretend to try a case affecting persons about whom you have already made up your mind, or should have made it up before ever you have tried them. But if you will have it so, permit me at once to begin and plead my defence. You are prejudiced against me, my sovereign, and you do me a greater wrong than could any false informer, for you take for granted, before you hear them, accusations which he only offers to prove." "Begin your defence," said the Emperor, "at any point you like, but I know very well where to draw the line, and with what it is best to begin."

CHAP.
XXXIII

XXXIV

FROM that moment he began to insult the sage, by cutting off his beard, and hair, and confining him among the vilest felons; and as regards his hair being shaved, Apollonius remarked: "I had forgotten, O sovereign, that it was treasonable to wear long hair." And as regards his imprisonment in bonds, he remarked: "If you think me a wizard, how will you ever fetter me? And if you fetter me, how can you say that I am a wizard?" "Yes," replied the Emperor, "for I will not release you until you have turned into water, or into some wild animal, or into a tree." "I will not turn into these things," said Apollonius, "even if I could, for I will

CHAP.
XXXIV
The
Emperor
persecutes
the Sage

CAP.
XXXIV

ὥς μὴ προδοίην ποτὲ τοὺς οὐδεμιᾷ δίκη κινδυνεύοντας, ὧν δ', ὅσπερ εἰμί, πᾶσιν ὑποθήσω ἑμαυτὸν οἷς ἂν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τουτὶ πράττης, ἔστ' ἂν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολογήσωμαι." ὑπὲρ δὲ σοῦ," εἶπε, " τίς ὁ ἀπολογησόμενος ἔσται ; " " χρόνος," ἔφη, " καὶ θεῶν πνεῦμα καὶ σοφίας ἔρως, ἥ ξύνειμι."

XXXV

CAP.
XXXV

Τὸν μὲν δὴ προάγωνα τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὃς ἐγένετο αὐτῷ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἰδίᾳ, τοιόνδε διαγράφει ὁ Δάμις, οἱ δὲ βασκάνως ταῦτα ξυνθέντες ἀπολελογῆσθαι μὲν αὐτόν φασι πρότερον, δεδέσθαι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅτε δὴ κείρασθαι, καί τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέπλασαν, ξυγκειμένην μὲν ἰωνικῶς, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἄχαρι, ἐν ἣ βούλονται τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἰκέτην τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ γίγνεσθαι, παραιτούμενον ἑαυτὸν τῶν δεσμῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἰώνιον ἐρμηνεύει τρόπον, ἐπιστολῇ δὲ ἰαστὶ ξυγκειμένη οὐπω Ἀπολλωνίου προσέτυχον, καίτοι ξυνειλοχῶς αὐτοῦ πλείστας, οὐδὲ μακρηγορίαν πω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εὖρον, βραχεῖαι γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ σκυτάλης πᾶσαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ νικῶν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, καὶ πῶς ἂν ποτε ἐδέθη μετὰ τὴν ἀφείσαν ψῆφον ; ἀλλὰ μήπω τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ κουρᾷ καὶ ἅττα διελέχθη, λεγέσθω πρότερον, ἄξια γὰρ σπουδάσαι.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

not ever betray men who, in violation of all justice, stand in peril; and what I am, that I will remain; but I am ready to endure all you can inflict upon my vile body, until I have finished pleading the cause of these persons." "And who," asked the Emperor, "is going to plead your cause?" "Time," replied Apollonius, "and the spirit of the gods, and the passion for wisdom which animates me."

CHAP.
XXXIV

XXXV

SUCH was the prelude of his defence, which he made in private to Domitian, as Damis outlines it. But some have, out of malignity, perverted the facts, and say that he first made his defence, and only then was imprisoned, at the same time that he was also shorn; and they have forged a certain letter in the Ionic dialect, of tedious prolixity, in which they pretend that Apollonius went down on his knees to Domitian and besought him to release him of his bonds. Now Apollonius, it is true, wrote his testament in the Ionian style of language; but I never met with any letter of his composed in that dialect, although I have come across a great many of them; nor did I ever find any verbosity in any letter of the sage's, for they are laconically brief as if they had been unwound from the ferule of a herald. Moreover, he won his cause and quitted the court, so how could he ever have been imprisoned after the verdict was given? But I must defer to relate what happened in the law court. I had best narrate first what ensued after he was shaved and what he said in his discourses, for it is worthy of notice.

CHAP.
XXXV

Perversions
of the Sage's
history
by his
enemies

XXXVI

CAP.
XXXVI

Δυοῖν γὰρ ἡμέραιν δεδεμένου τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀφικ-
νεῖται τις ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, τὸ προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ
ἐωνῆσθαι φάσκων, ξύμβουλος δὲ σωτηρίας ἤκειν.
ἦν μὲν δὴ Συρακούσιος οὗτος, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ νοῦς
τε καὶ γλῶττα, καθεῖτο δ', ὥσπερ ὁ πρότερος,
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πιθανωτέρων οὗτος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
πόρρωθεν, ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐλὼν, “ὦ θεοί,”
ἔφη, “τίς ἂν ῥήθη δεθῆναι Ἀπολλώνιον;” “ὁ
δήσας,” εἶπεν, “οὐ γὰρ ἄν, εἰ μὴ ῥήθη, ἔδησε.”
“τίς δ' ἂν τὰς ἀμβροσίας ποτὲ ἀποτμηθῆναι
χαίτας;” “ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “ὁ κομῶν.” “φέρεις δὲ
πῶς ταῦτα;” “ὥς γε εἰκός,” εἶπε, “τὸν μήθ'
ἐκουσίως μήτ' ἀκουσίως ἐς αὐτὰ ἤκοντα.” “τὸ
δὲ σκέλος πῶς,” ἔφη, “καρτερεῖ;” “οὐκ οἶδα,”
εἶπεν, “ὁ γὰρ νοῦς πρὸς ἑτέροις ἐστί.” “καὶ μὴν
πρὸς τῷ ἀλγοῦντι,” ἔφη, “ὁ νοῦς.” “οὐ μὲν οὖν,”
εἶπε, “νοῦς μὲν γὰρ ὅ γ' ἐν ἀνδρὶ τοιῷδε ἢ οὐκ
ἀλγήσει ἢ τὸ ἀλγοῦν παύσει.” “τί δὲ δὴ
ἐνθυμεῖται ὁ νοῦς;” “αὐτό,” εἶπε, “τὸ μὴ ἐννοεῖν
ταῦτα.” πάλιν δ' αὐτοῦ τὰς χαίτας ἀνακαλοῦντος
καὶ περιάγοντος ἐς αὐτὰς τὸν λόγον, “ὦνησαι,”

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XXXVI

For after the sage had been confined for two days in prison, some one came to the prison, and said that he had purchased the right to visit him, and that he was come to advise him how to save his life. This person then was a native of Syracuse, and was mind and mouthpiece of Domitian; and he had been suborned, like the earlier one, by him. But he had a more plausible mission; for whereas the first one beat about the bush, this one took up his parable straight from what he saw before him, and said: "Heavens, who would ever have thought of Apollonius being thrown into chains?" "The person who threw him," said Apollonius, "for surely he would not have done so, if he had not thought of it." "And who ever thought that his ambrosial locks could be cut off?" "I myself," said Apollonius, "who wore them." "And how can you endure it?" said the other. "As a man well may bear it who is brought to this pass neither with nor without his will." "And how can your leg endure the weight of the fetters?" "I don't know," said Apollonius, "for my mind is intent upon other matters." "And yet the mind," said the other, "must attend to what causes pain." "Not necessarily," said Apollonius, "for if you are a man like myself, your mind will either not feel the pain or will order it to cease." "And what is it that occupies your mind?" "The necessity," answered Apollonius, "of not noticing such things." Then the other reverted to the matter of his locks and led the conversation round to them again, whereupon Apollonius remarked:

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The
Emperor
sends a spy
into the
prison

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ἔφη, “νεανίσκε, μὴ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Ἀχαιῶν εἰς γενόμενος, ὥς σφόδρα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς τὰς Ἀχιλλείους κόμας ὀλοφύρασθαι Πατρόκλῳ τμηθείσας, εἰ δὴ ἐτμήθησαν, καὶ λειποθυμῆσαι δ' ἂν ἐπ' αὐταῖς. ὃς γὰρ τὰς ἐμάς, ἐν αἷς πολιαί τε ἦσαν καὶ αὐχμός, ἐλεεῖν φάσκεις, τί οὐκ ἂν πρὸς ἐκείνας ἔπαθες τὰς ἡσκημένας τε καὶ ξανθάς;”

Τῷ δὲ ἄρα ξὺν ἐπιβουλῇ ταῦτα ἐλέγετο, ἵν' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀλγεῖ μάθοι, καὶ νῆ Δία, εἰ λαιδορεῖται τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ ὧν πέπονθεν· ἀνακοπεῖς δ' ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, “διαβέβλησαι,” ἔφη, “πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ πλειόνων, μάλιστα δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ περὶ Νερούαν ὥς ἀδικοῦντες φεύγουσιν. ἀφίκοντο μὲν γάρ τινες ἐς αὐτὸν διαβολαὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ λόγων, οὓς ἀντιξόως τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπηχθημένως εἶπας, καταφρονεῖ δὲ τούτων, ὥς φασιν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὰ μείζω παρώξυνται, καίτοι τοῦ κακείνα διαβάλλοντος ἀνδρὸς ὑψοῦ προήκοντος τῆς δόξης.” “οἶον,” ἔφη, “Ὀλυμπιονίκην εἴρηκας, εἰ δόξης φησὶν ἄπτεσθαι διαβολαῖς ἰσχύων. ξυνίημι δ', ὥς ἔστιν Εὐφράτης, ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα πάντ' ἐπ' ἐμὲ πράττοντα, ἠδίκημαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μείζω ἕτερα· αἰσθόμενος γάρ ποτε φοιτήσῃν μέλλοντα παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Αἰθιοπία Γυμνοὺς, ἐς

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“It is lucky for you, young man, that you were not one of the Achaeans long ago in Troy; for it seems to me that you would have raised a terrible hullabaloo over the locks of Achilles, when he cut them off in honour of Patroclus, supposing he really did so, and you would at least have swooned at such a spectacle. For if as you say, you are full of pity for my locks which were all grey and frowzy, what would you not have felt over those of Achilles which were nicely curled and auburn?”

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The other of course had only made his remarks out of malice, in order to see what would make Apollonius wince, and, by Heaven, to see whether he would reproach his sovereign on account of his sufferings. But he was so shut up by the answers he got that he said: “You have incurred the royal displeasure on several grounds, but in particular on those for which Nerva and his friends are being prosecuted, namely of injuring the government. For certain informations have been conveyed to him about your words in Ionia, when you spoke of him in hostile and embittered tones. But they say that he attaches little importance to that matter, because his anger is whetted by the graver charges, and this although the informer from whom he learnt those first charges is a very distinguished person of great reputation.” “A new sort of Olympic winner is this you tell me of,” said Apollonius, “that pretends to win distinction by the weightiness of his slanders. But I quite realise that he is Euphrates, who, I know, does everything against me which he can; and these are far from being the worst injuries which he has done me. For hearing once on a time that I was about to visit the naked sages of Ethiopia, he set himself to poison

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διαβολάς μου πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατέστη, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ξυνῆκα, τάχ' ἂν ἀπῆλθον μὴδ' ἰδὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας.” θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Συρακούσιος τὸν λόγον, “εἴτ’,” ἔφη, “τοῦ διαβληθῆναι βασιλεῖ μείζον ἡγῇ τὸ τοῖς Τυμνοῖς μὴ χρηστὸς ἂν ἔξ ὧν Εὐφράτης καθίει δόξαι ;” “νὴ Δί’,” εἶπεν, “ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ μαθησόμενος ἦα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑπὲρ διδασκαλίας ἤκω.” “τῆς τί,” ἔφη, “διδασκούσης ;” “τὸ εἶναί με,” εἶπε, “καλὸν καγαθόν, τουτὶ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐπω οἶδεν.” “ἀλλ’ ἔστιν,” ἔφη, “τὰ σεαυτοῦ εὖ θέσθαι διδασχόμενῳ αὐτόν, ἃ καὶ πρὶν ἐνταῦθα ἦκείν λέξας οὐδ’ ἂν ἐδέθης.” ξυνιείς οὖν τοῦ Συρακουσίου ξυνελαύνοντος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ὁμοῖον τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγον, οἰομένου τε, ὡς ἀπογορεύων πρὸς τὰ δεσμὰ ψεύσεταιί τι κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, “ὦ βέλτιστε,” εἶπεν, “εἰ τᾶληθῇ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν εἰπὼν ἐδέθην, τί πείσομαι μὴ ἀληθεύσας ; ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ τᾶληθὲς δοκεῖ δεσμῶν ἄξιον, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ ψεῦδος.”

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Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συρακούσιος ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν ὡς ὑπερφιλοσοφοῦντα, ταυτὶ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀπῆλθεν, ἐχώρει

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their minds against me, and if I had not seen through his malignant designs, I should probably have gone away without even seeing their company.”

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The Syracusan then, much astonished at this remark, said: “Then you think it a much lesser thing to be traduced to the Emperor than to forfeit your good repute in the eyes of the naked sages owing to the insinuations dropped against you by Euphrates?”

“Yes, by Heaven,” he said, “for I was going there as a learner, whereas I am come here with a mission to teach.” “And what are you going to teach?” said the other. “That I am,” said Apollonius, “a good and honourable man,—a circumstance this of which the Emperor is not yet aware.” “But you can,” said the other, “get out of your scrape if you only will teach him things, which if you had told him before you came here, you would never have been cast into prison.” Now Apollonius understood that the Syracusan was trying to drive him into some such admission as the Emperor had tried to get out of him, and that he imagined that out of sheer weariness of his imprisonment he would tell some falsehood to the detriment of his friends, and accordingly he answered: “My excellent friend, if I have been cast into prison for telling Domitian the truth, what would happen to me if I refrained from telling it? For he apparently regards truth as something to be punished with imprisonment, just as I regard falsehood.”

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THE Syracusan accordingly was so much struck with the superiority of his philosophical talent (for after

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ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδὼν ἐς τὸν Δάμιν, “ξυνίης,” ἔφη, “τοῦ Πύθωνος τούτου;” “ξυνίημι μὲν,” εἶπε “ὑποκαθημένου τε καὶ ὑπαγομένου σε, τί δ' ὁ Πύθων βούλεται σοι καὶ τίς ὁ τοῦ ὀνόματος νοῦς, οὐκ οἶδα.” “ἐγένετο,” ἔφη, “Πύθων ὁ Βυζάντιος ἀγαθός, φασί, ῥήτωρ τὰ κακὰ πείθειν· οὗτος ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου πρεσβεύων παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὲρ τῆς δουλείας αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἶα, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἀθηναίοις γε αὐτοῖς, ὅτε δὴ μάλιστά γε ῥητορικῇ ἔρρωντο, ἀδικεῖσθαι τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔφασκε τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ δεινὰ πράττειν Ἀθηναίους τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλευθεροῦντας. ὁ Πύθων ταῦτα πολλὺς ῥέων, ὥς φασιν, ἀλλὰ Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἀντειπὼν θρασυνομένῳ μόνος, τὸ ἀνασχεῖν αὐτὸν τάττει ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἄθλοις. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι ἐς ἃ ἐδόκει τούτῳ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἄθλον ἑμαυτοῦ φαίην, Πύθωνι δ' αὐτὸν ταῦτὸν πράττειν ἔφην, ἐπειδὴ τυράννου τε μισθωτὸς ἀφίκετο καὶ ἀτόπων ξύμβουλος.”

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XXXVIII

Διαλέγεσθαι μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πλείω τοιαῦτα, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὁ Δάμις ἀπορεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων φησί, λύσιν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν οὐδεμίαν πλὴν ὅσαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐξαμένοις τισὶ κακ

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saying this he went away), that he promptly left the prison ; but Apollonius glancing at Damis said : “ Do you understand this Python ? ” “ I understand,” said he, “ that he has been suborned to trip you up ; but what you mean by Python, and what is the sense of such a name, I do not know.” “ Python,” replied Apollonius, “ of Byzantium, was, they say, a rhetor skilful to persuade men to evil courses. He was sent in the interests of Philip, son of Amyntas, on an embassy to the Hellenes to urge their enslavement, and though he passed by other states, he was careful to go to Athens, just at a time when rhetoric most flourished there. And he told them that they did a great injury to Philip, and made a great mistake in trying to liberate the Hellenic nation. Python delivered these sentiments, as they say, with a flood of words, but no one save Demosthenes of the Paeonian deme spoke to the contrary and checked his presumption ; and he reckons it amongst his achievements that he bore the brunt of his attack unaided. Now I would never call it an achievement that I refused to be drawn into the avowals which he wanted. Nevertheless I said that he was employed on the same job as Python, because he has come here as a despot’s hireling to tender me monstrous advice.”

CHAP.
XXXVII
Apollonius
compares
the spy to
Python

XXXVIII

DAMIS says then that though Apollonius uttered many more discourses of the same kind, he was himself in despair of the situation, because he saw no way out of it except such as the gods have vouchsafed to some in answer to prayer, when they were in even

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πολλῷ χαλεπωτέρων ἤλθον, ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ μεσημβρίας, “ὦ Τυανεῦ,” φίνειναι, σφύδρα γὰρ δὴ χαίρειν αὐτὸν τῇ προσήσει, “τί πεισόμεθα;” “ὅ γε ἐπάθομεν,” ἔφη, “πέρα δ’ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀποκτενεῖ ἡμᾶς οὐδεῖς.” “καὶ τίς,” εἶπεν, “οὕτως ἄτρωτος; λυθήσῃ δὲ πότε;” “τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δικάσαντι,” ἔφη, “τήμερον, τὸ δὲ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ ἄρτι.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐξήγαγε τὸ σκέλος τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ἔφη, “ἐπίδειξιν πεποίημαί σοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ θάρρει.” τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἴη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντα, πῶς γὰρ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδ’ εὐξάμενόν τι, μηδὲ εἰπόντα καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἐναρμόσαντα αὖ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένου πράττειν.

XXXIX

CAP.
XXXIX

Οἱ δὲ εὐηθέστεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τοὺς γόητας ἀναφέρουσι ταῦτα, πεπόνθασι δ’ αὐτὸ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπειῶν· δέονται μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τῆς τέχνης ἀθληταί, δέονται δὲ ἀγωνισταὶ πάντες διὰ τὸ νικᾶν γλίχεσθαι, καὶ ξυλλαμβάνει μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν νίκην οὐδέν, ἃ δὲ ἀπὸ τύχης νικῶσι, ταῦθ’ οἱ κακοδαίμονες αὐτοὺς ἀφελόμενοι, λογίζονται τῇ

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worse straits. But a little before mid-day, he tells us that he said : " O man of Tyana,"—for he took a special pleasure, it appears, in being called by that name,—“what is to become of us?” “Why what has become of us already,” said Apollonius, “and nothing more, for no one is going to kill us.” “And who,” said Damis, “is so invulnerable as that? But will you ever be liberated?” “So far as it rests with the verdict of the court,” said Apollonius, “I shall be set at liberty this day, but so far as depends upon my own will, now and here.” And with these words he took his leg out of the fetters and remarked to Damis: “Here is proof positive to you of my freedom, so cheer up.” Damis says that it was then for the first time that he really and truly understood the nature of Apollonius, to wit that it was divine and superhuman, for without any sacrifice,—and how in prison could he have offered any?—and without a single prayer, without even a word, he quietly laughed at the fetters, and then inserted his leg in them afresh, and behaved like a prisoner once more.

CHAP.
XXXVIII
Apollonius
miracu-
lously
strikes the
fetter off his
leg

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Now simple-minded people attribute such acts as this to wizardry, and they make the same mistake in respect of many purely human actions. For athletes resort to this art, just as do all who have to undergo a contest in their eagerness to win; and although it contributes nothing to their success, nevertheless these unfortunate people, after winning by mere chance as they generally do, rob themselves of the credit and attribute it to this art of wizardry. Nor

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XXXIX
A discourse
on Magic
and
Magicians

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τέχνη ταύτη, ἀπιστοῦσι δ' αὐτῇ οὐδ' οἱ ἡττώ-
μενοι σφῶν, “εἰ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα ἔθυσα καὶ τὸ δεῖνα
ἐθυμίασα, οὐκ ἂν διέφυγέ με ἡ νίκη,” τοιαῦτα
λέγουσι, καὶ τοιαῦτα οἰοῦνται. φοιτᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ
θύρας ἐμπόρων κατὰ ταῦτά, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κακείνους
εὔροιμεν ἂν τὰ μὲν εὐτυχήματα τῆς ἐμπορίας
λογιζομένους τῷ γόητι, τὰ δὲ ἄτοπα τῇ αὐτῶν
φειδοῖ καὶ τῷ μὴ ὁπόσα ἔδει θῦσαι. ἀνῆπται δὲ
ἡ τέχνη τοὺς ἐρῶντας μάλιστα, νοσοῦντες γὰρ
εὐπαράγωγον οὕτω νόσον, ὥς καὶ γραιδίους ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς διαλέγεσθαι, θαυμαστόν, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν
πράττουσι προσιόντες τοῖς σοφισταῖς τούτοις
καὶ ἀκροώμενοι σφῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἳ κεστόν τε
αὐτοῖς φέρειν διδοῦσι καὶ λίθους, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν
τῆς γῆς ἀπορρήτων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ σελήνης τε καὶ
ἀστέρων, ἀρώματά τε ὁπόσα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ κηπεύει,
καὶ χρήματα μὲν αὐτοὺς λαμπρὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων
πράττονται, ξυνδρῶσι δὲ οὐδέν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ
παθόντων τι τῶν παιδικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρῶντας ἢ
δώροις ὑπαχθέντων προβαλὶν τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὑμνεῖται
ἡ τέχνη ὥς ἱκανὴ πάντα, εἰ δ' ἀποτυγχάνοι ἢ
πεῖρα, ἐς τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν ἢ ἀναφορά, μὴ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα
θυμιᾶσαι, μηδὲ θῦσαι ἢ τῆξαι, τουτὶ δὲ μέγα εἶναι
καὶ ἄπορον. οἱ μὲν οὖν τρόποι, καθ' οὓς καὶ

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does any amount of failure in their enterprises shake their faith in it, they merely say such things as this :
“ If I had only offered this sacrifice or that, if I had only burnt that perfume in place of another, I should not have failed to win.” And they really believe what they say. Magic also besieges the doors of merchants no less, for we shall find them too attributing their successes in trade to the wizard or magician, no less than they ascribe their losses to their own parsimony and to their failure to sacrifice as often as they should have done. But it is especially lovers who are addicted to this art ; for as the disease which they suffer from in any case renders them liable to be deluded, so much so that they go to old hags to talk about it, it is no wonder, I think, that they resort to these impostors and give ear to their quackeries. They will accept from them a box with stones in it which they are to wear, some of the bits of stone having come from the depths of the earth and others from the moon and the stars ; and then they are given all the spices which the gardens of India yield ; and the cheats exact vast sums of money from them for all this, and yet do nothing to help them at all. For let their favourites only give them the least encouragement, or let the attractions of the lover’s presents advance his suit in the very least, and he at once sets out to laud the art as able to achieve everything ; while if the experiment does not come off, he is as ready as ever to lay the blame on some omission, for he will say that he forgot to burn this spice, or to sacrifice or melt up that, and that everything turned upon that and it was impossible to do without it. Now the various devices and artifices by which they work signs from heaven

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XXXIX

CAP.
XXXIX

διοσημίας καὶ ἕτερα πλείω τερατεύονται, καὶ ἀναγεγράφαταί τισιν, οἳ ἐγέλασαν πλατὺ ἐς τὴν τέχνην, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀποπεφάνθω μὴδ' ἐκείνοις ὁμιλεῖν τοὺς νέους, ἵνα μὴδὲ παίζειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐθίζονται. ἀποχρῶσα ἢ ἐκτροπὴ τοῦ λόγου· τί γὰρ ἂν πλείω καθαπτοίμην τοῦ πράγματος, ὃ καὶ φύσει διαβέβληται καὶ νόμῳ ;

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CAP.
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Ἐνδειξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τῷ Δάμιδι ἑαυτὸν καὶ πλείω διαλεχθέντος, ἐπέστη τις περὶ μεσημβρίαν σημαίνων ἀπὸ γλώττης τοσαῦτα· “ ἀφίησί σε ὁ βασιλεύς, Ἀπολλώνιε, τούτων τῶν δεσμῶν Αἰλιανοῦ ξυμβουλεύσαντος, τὸ δὲ ἐλευθέριον δεσμωτήριον ξυγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν, ἔστ' ἂν ἦ ἢ ἀπολογία, ἐς ἡμέραν δὲ ἴσως ἀπολογήσῃ πέμπτην.” “ τίς οὖν,” ἔφη, “ ὁ μετασκευάσων με ἐνθένδε ;” “ ἐγώ,” εἶπε, “ καὶ ἔπου.” καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ δεσμωτηρίῳ, περιέβαλλον πάντες, ὥς οὐδ' οἴηθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπανήκοντα. ὃν γὰρ δὴ πόθον ἴσχουσι πατρὸς παῖδες, ἐς νοθετήσεις καθισταμένου σφίσιν ἡδείας τε καὶ ξυμμέτρους ἢ τὰ ἐφ' ἡλικίας ἀφερμηνεύοντος, τὸν αὐτὸν κάκεῖνοι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου εἶχον, καὶ ὡμολόγουν ταῦτα, ὃ δ' οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἀεὶ τι ξυμβουλεύων.

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and all sorts of other miracles on a wide scale, have been actually recorded by certain authors, who laugh outright at the art in question. But for myself I would only denounce such arts in order to prevent young men from resorting to its professors, lest they become accustomed to such things even in fun. This digression has led me far enough from my subject; for why should I attack any further a thing which is equally condemned by nature and by law?

CHAP.
XXXIX

XL

AFTER Apollonius had thus revealed himself to Damis, and held some further conversation, about mid-day some one presented himself to them and made the following intimation verbally: "The Emperor, Apollonius, releases you from these fetters by the advice of Aelian; and he permits you to take up your quarters in the prison where criminals are not bound, until the time comes for you to make your defence, but you will probably be called upon to plead your cause five days from now." "Who then," said Apollonius, "is to get me out of this place?" "I," said the messenger, "so follow me." And when the prisoners in the free prison saw him again, they all flocked round him, as around one restored to them against all expectations; for they entertained the same affectionate longing for Apollonius as children do for a parent who devotes himself to giving them good advice in an agreeable and modest manner, or who tells them stories of his own youth; nor did they try to hide their feelings; and Apollonius continued incessantly to give them advice.

CHAP.
XL
Apollonius
is restored
to the free
prison

XLI

CAP.
XLI

Καλέσας δὲ τῆς ὑστεραίας τὸν Δάμιν, “ἐμοὶ μὲν,” ἔφη, “τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέραν ἔσται, σὺ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Δικαιορχίας βύδιζε, λῶρον γὰρ πεζῇ ἰέναι, καὶ προσείπης Δημήτριον, στρέφου περὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν ἡ Καλυψοῦς νῆσος, ἐπιφανέντα γάρ με ἐκεῖ ὄψει.” “ζῶντα,” ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, “ἢ τί;” γελάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ζῶντα,” εἶπεν, “ὥς δὲ σὺ οἶει, ἀναβεβιωκότα.” ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθεῖν φησιν ἄκων, καὶ μήτ’ ἀπογινώσκων ὥς ἀπολουμένου μήτ’ εὐελπὶς ὥς οὐκ ἀπολεῖται. καὶ τριταῖος μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Δικαιορχίαν, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὃς περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐγένετο, ὅτι πνεῦμα ὑπομβρον καταρραγὲν τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς μὲν κατέδυσσε τῶν νεῶν, αἱ ἐκείσε ἔπλεον, τὰς δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν τε καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀπεώσατο, καὶ ξυνεῖναι τότε ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν πεζῇ κομίζεσθαι.

XLII

CAP.
XLII

Τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναγράφει Δάμις ἐξ ὧν Ἀπολλωνίου φησὶν ἀκηκοέναι πρὸς Δημήτριόν τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος. μεράκιον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Μεσσηνίας τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδία περίβλεπτον ὥρα ἀφικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐρᾶν δ’ αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν, Δομετιανὸν δὲ παρὰ πάντας, τοὺς δ’ οὕτως ἐρᾶν.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

XLI

AND on the next day he called Damis and said :
“ My defence has to be pleaded by me on the day appointed, so do you betake yourself in the direction of Dicaearchia, for it is better to go by land ; and when you have saluted Demetrius, turn aside to the sea-shore where the island of Calypso lies ; for there you shall see me appear to you.” “ Alive,” asked Damis, “ or how ? ” Apollonius with a smile replied : “ As I myself believe, alive, but as you will believe, risen from the dead.” Accordingly he says that he went away with much regret, for although he did not quite despair of his master’s life, yet he hardly expected him to escape death. And on the third day he arrived at Dicaearchia, where he at once heard news of the great storm which had raged during those days ; for a gale with rain had burst over the sea, sinking some of the ships that were sailing thither, and driving out of their course those which were tending to Sicily and the straits of Messina. And then he understood why it was that Apollonius had bidden him go by land.

CHAP.

XLI

He sends
Damis on
to Dicaear-
chia

XLII

THE events which followed are related by Damis, he says, from accounts given by Apollonius, both to himself and Demetrius. For he relates that there came to Rome from Messene in Arcadia a youth remarkable for his beauty, and found there many admirers, and above all Domitian, whose rivals even

CHAP.

XLII

An heroic
youth

CAP.
XLII

ὥς μὴδὲ τὸ ἀντερᾶν ἐκείνῳ δεδιέναι. ἀλλ' ἐσωφρόνει
τὸ μειράκιον καὶ ἐφείδετο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὥρας. εἰ μὲν
δὴ χρυσοῦ κατεφρόνησεν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἵππων ἢ
τοιῶνδε δελεασμάτων, οἷς ὑπάγονται τὰ παιδικὰ
ἔνιοι, μὴ ἐπαινῶμεν, χρὴ γὰρ οὕτω παρεσκευάσθαι
τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃ δὲ μειζόνων ἀξιωθεὶς ἂν ἢ ὁμοῦ
πάντες, οὓς ὀφθαλμοὶ βασιλέων ἐσπάσαντο, οὐκ
ἡξίου ἑαυτὸν ὦν ἡξιούτο. ἐδέθη τοίνυν, τουτὶ γὰρ
τῷ ἐραστῇ ἔδοξε. καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ,
βουλομένῳ μὲν τι λέγειν ἐώκει, αἰδῶ δὲ ξύμβουλον
σιωπῆς ἔχων οὐπω ἐθάρρει· ξυνεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολ-
λώνιος, “σὺ μὲν οὐδ' ἡλικίαν πω τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ἄγων
καθεῖρξαι,” ἔφη, “καθάπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ δεινοί.” “καὶ
ἀποθανοῦμαί γε,” εἶπε, “τὸ γὰρ σωφρονεῖν θανάτου
τιμῶνται οἱ ἐφ' ἡμῶν νόμοι.” “καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θησέως,”
εἶπε, “τὸν γὰρ Ἰππόλυτον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ ἀπώλλυ
ὁ πατὴρ αὐτός.” “κἀμέ,” εἶπεν, “ὁ πατὴρ ἀπολώ-
λεκεν. ὄντα γάρ με Ἀρκάδα ἐκ Μεσσήνης οὐ τὰ
Ἑλλήνων ἐπαίδευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἔστειλε μαθη-
σόμενον ἦθι νομικά, καί με ὑπὲρ τούτων ἤκοντα
ὁ βασιλεὺς κακῶς εἶδεν.” ὃ δ' ὥσπερ οὐ ξυνεῖς, ὃ
λέγει, “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη, “μειράκιον, μὴ γλαυκὸν
ἡγεῖται σε ὁ βασιλεὺς καίτοι μελανόφθαλμον, ὥς
ὁρῶ, ὄντα, ἢ στρεβλὸν τὴν ῥίνα καίτοι τετραγώνως
ἔχοντα, καθάπερ τῶν ἐρμῶν οἱ γεγυμνασμένοι, ἢ

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the former did not scruple to declare themselves, so strong was their attachment. The youth however was too high-principled and respected his honour. Now had it been gold that he scorned or possessions or horses, or such other attractions and lures as sundry persons seek to corrupt young people with, we had no call to praise him, for the seducer can hardly dispense with such preparations. But he was tempted with larger honours than all those put together who ever attracted the glances of sovereigns, yet disdained them all for himself. In consequence he was cast into prison, by his own admirer's orders. He came up to Apollonius, and made as if he would speak to him, but, being counselled by his modesty to keep silent, did not venture to. Apollonius noticed this and said: "You are confined here, and yet are not of an age to be a malefactor, like ourselves who are hardened sinners." "Yes, and I shall be put to death," said the other; "for by our latter-day laws self-respect is honoured with capital punishment." "So it was in the time of Theseus," answered Apollonius, "for Hippolytus was murdered by his own sire for the same reason." "And I too," said the other, "am my own father's victim. For though I am an Arcadian from Messene, he did not give me an Hellenic education, but sent me here to study law; and when I had come here for that purpose the Emperor cast an evil eye on me." But Apollonius feigned not to understand what he meant and said: "Tell me, my boy, surely the Emperor does not imagine you have blue eyes, when you have, as I see, black ones? Or that you have a crooked nose, whereas it is square and regular, like that of a well executed Hermes? or has he not made some

CHAP.
XLII

CAP.
XLII

τὴν κόμην ἕτερόν τι παρ' ὃ ἐστίν ; ἔστι δ', οἶμαι, ἡλιώσά τε καὶ ὑποφαίνουσα, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα οὕτω ξύμμετρον, ὥς καὶ σιωπῇ πρέπειν καὶ λόγῳ, δέρη τε οὕτως ἐλευθέρα καὶ φρονούσα. τί οὖν ἕτερον τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡγήσεταιί σε, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγεις ὀφθῆναι ;” “ αὐτό με τοῦτο ἀπολώλεκεν, ὑπαχθεῖς γάρ μου ἐρᾶν οὐ φείδεται ὧν ἐπαινεῖ, ἀλλ' αἰσχύνειν διανοεῖταί με, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐρῶντες.” ἀγασθεῖς δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸ μὲν ξυγκαθεύδειν ὃ τι ἡγοῖτο καὶ εἰ αἰσχρὸν τοῦτο ἢ μή, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρωτημάτων παρήκεν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐρυθριῶντα ἑώρα τὸν Ἀρκάδα καὶ κεκοσμημένως φθεγγόμενον, ἤρετο δ' αὐτὸν ὧδε· “ κέκτησαί τινας ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δούλους ;” “ νή Δί,” ἔφη, “ πολλούς γε.” “ τούτων οὖν,” εἶπε, “ τίνα ἡγήσασαυτόν ;” “ ὄνγε,” ἔφη, “ οἱ νόμοι, δεσπότης γάρ αὐτῶν εἰμι.” “ δεσποτῶν δ',” εἶπεν, “ ὑπηκόους εἶναι δούλους χρὴ ἢ ἀπαξιούν, ἃ δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ σώματος κυρίοις ;” ὁ δ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἐς οἷαν ἀπόκρισιν περιάγοιτο, “ ἢ μὲν τῶν τυράννων ἰσχύς,” ἔφη, “ ὥς ἄμαχός τε καὶ χαλεπή, οἶδα, δι' αὐτὸ γάρ που καὶ δεσπότης τῶν ἐλευθέρων βούλονται, τοῦ δ' ἐμοῦ σώματος ἐγὼ δεσπότης καὶ φυλάξω αὐτὸ ἄσυλον.” “ πῶς ;” εἶπε, “ πρὸς ἐραστὴν γάρ ὁ λόγος κωμάζοντα μετὰ ξίφους ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν ὥραν.” “ τὸν τράχηλον,” ἔφη, “ ὑποσχὼν μάλλον, ἐκείνου γὰρ δεῖ τῷ ξίφει.” ἐπαινέσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ Ἀρκάδα σε,” ἔφη, “ ὀρώ.” καὶ μὴν τοῦ μεираκίου τούτου καὶ ἐν ἐπιστολῇ μέμνηται, καὶ διαγράφει αὐτὸ πολλῷ ἥδιον ἢ ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα, σωφροσύνης τε ἐπαινῶν πρὸς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

mistake about your hair? For, methinks, it is sunny and gleaming, and your mouth too is so regular, that whether you are silent or talking, it is equally comely, and you carry your head freely and proudly. Surely the Emperor must be mistaking all these traits for others, or you would not tell me he cast an evil eye on you." "That is just what has ruined me," said the other, "for he has condescended to favour me and instead of sparing what he praises is prepared to insult me as a woman's lovers might." Apollonius admired the Arcadian too much to ply him with any further questions, as he noticed that he blushed and was most decorous in his language; so he only put to him the question: "Have you any slaves in Arcadia?" "Why yes, many," replied the lad. "What relation to them," said Apollonius, "do you consider yourself as holding?" "That," he replied, "which the laws assign to me, for I am their master." "And must slaves obey their masters or disdain the wishes of those who are masters of their persons?" The other discerned the drift of his question and answered: "I know indeed how irresistible and harsh is the power of tyrants, for they are inclined to use it to overpower even free men, but I am master of my person and shall guard it inviolate." "How can you do that," said Apollonius, "for you have to do with an admirer who is prepared to run amuck of your youth, sword in hand?" "I shall simply hold out my neck, which is all his sword requires." Whereon Apollonius commended him, and said: "I perceive you are an Arcadian." Moreover he mentions this youth in one of his letters, and gives a much more attractive account of him than I have done in the above, and while praising

CHAP.
XLII

CAP.
XLII ὃν γράφει φησὶ τὸ μεράκιον τοῦτο μηδ' ἀποθα-
νεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, θαυμασθὲν δὲ τῆς ῥώμης
ἐπὶ Μαλέαν πλεῦσαι, ζηλωτὸν τοῖς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ
μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τὰς τῶν μαστίγων καρτερήσεις παρὰ
Λακεδαιμονίοις νικῶντες.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VII

him for his high principles to his correspondent, CHAP.
adds that he was not put to death by the tyrant. XLII
On the contrary, after exciting admiration by his
firmness, he returned by ship to Malea, and was held
in more honour by the inhabitants of Arcadia than
the youths who among the Lacedemonians surpass
their fellows in their endurance of the scourge.

BOOK VIII

Θ'

I

CAP.
I. Ἰωμεν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀκροασόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογούμενου ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας, ἥλιου γὰρ ἐπιτολαὶ ἤδη καὶ ἀνεῖται τοῖς ἐλλογίμοις ἢ ἐς αὐτὸ πάροδος, τὸν βασιλέα τε οἱ ξυνδαιτώμενοί φασι μηδὲ σίτου ἄψασθαι, διορῶντα, οἶμαι, τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκῃ· καὶ γάρ τι καὶ βιβλίον πρόχειρον ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ξὺν ὀργῇ, τὰ δὲ ἡττον. ἀνατυποῦσθαι δὲ χρὴ οἶον ἀχθόμενον τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ εὖρον δικαστήρια.

II

CAP.
II. Ἐντευξόμεθα δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διαλέξεσθαι ἡγουμένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ δρᾶμείσθαι τινα ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα, τουτὶ δ' ἂν τεκμηραίμεθα τοῖς γε πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου· προῖὼν γὰρ ἤρετο τὸν γραμματέα, ὑφ' οὗ ἤγετο, οἱ βαδίζοιεν, τοῦ δὲ ἐς τὸ

BOOK VIII

I

LET us now repair to the law-court to listen to the sage pleading his cause; for it is already sunrise and the doors are thrown open to admit the celebrities. And the companions of the Emperor say that he had taken no food that day, because, I imagine, he was so absorbed in examining the documents of the case. For they say he was holding in his hands a roll of writing of some sort, sometimes reading it with anger, and sometimes more calmly. And we must needs figure him as one who was angry with the law for having invented such things as courts of justice.

CHAP.

I
Conversa-
tion with
the secre-
tary of the
tribunal

II

BUT Apollonius, as we meet him in this conjuncture seems to regard the trial as a dialectical discussion, rather than as a race to be run for his life; and this we may infer from the way he behaved before he entered the court. For on his way thither he asked the secretary who was conducting him, where they were going; and when the latter answered that he was leading him to the

CHAP.

II

CAP. ^{II} δικαστήριον ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῷ φήσαντος, “δικά-
 σομαι,” ἔφη, “πρὸς τίνα;” “πρὸς γε τὸν σεαυ-
 τοῦ,” εἶπε, “κατήγορον, δικάσει δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς.”
 “ἐμοὶ δέ,” ἔφη, “καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τίς ὁ δικάσων;
 δείξω γὰρ αὐτὸν φιλοσοφίαν ἀδικοῦντα.” “καὶ
 τίς,” εἶπε, “βασιλεῖ φιλοσοφίας λόγος, καὶ ἀδι-
 κῶν ταύτην τύχη;” “ἀλλὰ φιλοσοφία πολὺς,”
 ἔφη, “βασιλέως, ἵν’ ἐπιτηδεύῃς ἄρχῃ.” ἐπαινέσας
 δὲ ὁ γραμματεὺς, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετρίως διέκειτο
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς καὶ καταρχὰς ἐδείκνυ,
 “πόσῳ δέ,” εἶπε, “τὸν λόγον διαμετρήσεις ὕδατι;
 τουτὶ γὰρ με χρὴ πρὸ τῆς δίκης εἰδέναι.” “εἰ
 μὲν ὁπόσα,” ἔφη, “ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ δίκη, ξυγχωρεῖ μοι
 λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι διαμετρηθεὶς οὐδὲ ὁ Θύμ-
 βρις, εἰ δὲ ὁπόσα ἐρήσεται, μέτρον τοῦ ἀποκρι-
 νομένου ὁ ἐρωτῶν.” “ἐναντίας,” εἶπεν, “ἀρετὰς
 ἐπήσκησας βραχυλογεῖν τε καὶ μακρηγορεῖν ὑπὲρ
 τῶν αὐτῶν φάσκων.” “οὐκ ἐναντίας,” ἔφη, “ἀλλ’
 ὁμοίας· ὁ γὰρ θάτερον ἱκανὸς οὐδὲν ἂν θατέρου
 λείποιτο. καὶ ξυμμετρία δὲ ἀμφοῖν ξυγκειμένη
 τρίτη μὲν, οὐκ ἂν φαίην, πρώτη δ’ ἂν εἴη ἀρετὴ
 λόγου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ
 τετάρτην ἀρετὴν οἶδα.” “ἀνόνητόν γε,” εἶπε,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

court, he said: "Whom am I going to plead CHAP.
II against?" "Why," said the other, "against your accuser, of course, and the Emperor will be judge." "And," said Apollonius, "who is going to be judge between myself and the Emperor? For I shall prove that he is wronging philosophy." "And what concern," said the other, "has the Emperor for philosophy, even if he does happen to do her wrong?" "Nay, but philosophy," said Apollonius, "is much concerned about the Emperor, that he should govern as he should." The secretary commended this sentiment, for indeed he was already favourably disposed to Apollonius, as he proved from the very beginning. "And how long will your pleading last by the water-clock's reckoning? For I must know this before the trial begins." "If," said Apollonius, "I am allowed to plead as long as the necessities of the suit require me to, the whole of the Tiber might run through the meter before I should have done; but if I am only to answer all the questions put to me, then it depends on the cross-examiner how long I shall be making my answers." "You have cultivated," remarked the other, "contrary talents when you thus engage to talk about one and the same matter both with brevity and with prolixity." "They are not contrary talents," said Apollonius, "but resemble one another; for an expert in the one would never be far to seek in the other. And moreover there is a mean composed of the two, which I should not myself allege to be a third, but a first requisite of a pleader; and for my own part I am sure that silence constitutes a fourth excellence much required in a law-court." "Anyhow," said the other, "it will do you no good

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. II “σεαυτῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ κινδυνεύειν μέλλοντι.”
 “καὶ μὴν καὶ Σωκράτην,” ἔφη, “τὸν Ἀθηναῖον
 μέγα ὤνησεν, ὅτε ἔφυγε τὴν γραφὴν.” “καὶ πῶς
 ὤνησεν,” εἶπε, “τόν, ἐπειδὴ ἐσιώπα, ἀποθανόντα;”
 “οὐκ ἀπέθανεν,” ἔφη, “Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥοντο.”

III

CAP. III Ὡδε μὲν παρεσκεύαστο πρὸς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ τυράν-
 νου πάντα, προεστῶτι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου
 προσελθὼν, ἕτερος γραμματεὺς, “ὦ Τυανεῦ,” ἔφη,
 “γυμνὸς ἔσελθε.” “λουσοῦμεθα οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἢ
 δικασόμεθα;” “οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐσθῆτος,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα
 προείρηται, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύει σοι ὁ βασιλεὺς μήτε
 περιάπτου μήτε βιβλίου μήτ' ἄλλο γραμματεῖον
 ὅλως μηδὲν ἐσφέρειν ἐνταῦθα.” “μηδὲ νάρθηκα,”
 εἶπεν, “ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτως αὐτὸν ταῦτα πείθοντας;”
 ἀναβοήσας. δὲ ὁ κατήγορος, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,
 πληγὰς,” ἔφη, “ἀπειλεῖ μοι ὁ γόης, ἐγὼ γάρ σε
 ταυτὶ πέπεικα.” “οὐκοῦν,” εἶπε, “σὺ μᾶλλον γόης,
 ἃ γὰρ μὴ ἐγὼ πέπεικά πω τὸν Βασιλέα, ὥς οὐκ
 εἰμί, σὺ φῆς αὐτὸν ὥς εἶην πεπεικέναι.” παρῆν
 δὲ τῷ κατηγόρῳ λαιδοροῦμένῳ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν
 Εὐφράτου τις ἀπελευθέρων, ὃν ἐλέγετο Εὐφράτης
 ἄγγελον τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαλέ-
 ξειν στείλαι ὁμοῦ χρήμασιν, ἃ τῷ κατηγόρῳ
 ἐπεδόθη.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

nor anyone else who stands in great peril." "And yet," said Apollonius, "it was of great service to Socrates of Athens, when he was prosecuted." "And what good did it do him," said the other, "seeing that he died just because he would say nothing?" "He did not die," said Apollonius, "though the Athenians thought he did."

CHAP.
II

III

THIS was how he prepared himself to confront the despot's manœuvres; and as he waited before the court another secretary came up and said: "Man of Tyana, you must enter the court with nothing on you." "Are we then to take a bath," said Apollonius, "or to plead?" "The rule," said the other, "does not apply to dress, but the Emperor only forbids you to bring in here either amulet, or book, or any papers of any kind." "And not even a cane," said Apollonius, "for the back of the idiots who gave him such advice as this?" Whereat his accuser burst into shouts: "O my Emperor," he said, "this wizard threatens to beat me, for it was I who gave you this advice." "Then," said Apollonius, "it is you who are a wizard rather than myself; for you say that you have persuaded the Emperor of my being that which so far I have failed to persuade him that I am not." While the accuser was indulging in this abuse, one of the freedmen of Euphrates was at his side, whom the latter was said to have sent from Ionia with news of what Apollonius had there said in his conversations, and also with a sum of money which was presented to the accuser.

CHAP.
III
Apollonius
is brought
into court

IV

CAP.
IV

Τοιαῦτα ἠκροβολίσαντο πρὸ τῆς δίκης, τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ· κεκόσμητο μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ξυνουσία πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου, μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτῆς οἱ ἐπίδηλοι πάντες, ἀγῶνα ποιουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτι ἐν πλείστοις ἐλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτία. ὁ δ' οὕτω τι ὑπερεώρα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς μὴδὲ ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἐπηρεάσαντος δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου τὴν ὑπεροψίαν, καὶ κελεύσαντος ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων θεόν, ἀνέσχεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὸν ὄροφον, ἐνδείκνύμενος μὲν τὸ ἐς τὸν Δία ὁρᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἀσεβῶς κολακευθέντα κακίῳ τοῦ κολακεύσαντος ἡγούμενος. ἐβόα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὁ κατήγορος, “ ἤδη μέτρει, βασιλεῦ, ὕδωρ, εἰ γὰρ ξυγχωρήσεις αὐτῷ μῆκος λόγων, ἀπάγξει ἡμᾶς. ἔστι δέ μοι καὶ βιβλίον τοῦτο ξυγγεγραμμένον τὰς αἰτίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν χρή λέγειν αὐτόν, ἀπολογεῖσθω δὲ κατὰ μίαν.”

V

CAP.
V

‘Ο δ', ὡς ἄριστα συμβουλεύσαντος ἐπαινέσας, ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ συκοφάντου συμβουλίαν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας παρελθὼν αἰτίας, ὡς οὐκ ἀξίας καταστήσαί τινα ἐς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

IV

SUCH were the preliminary skirmishes which preceded the trial, but the conduct of the trial itself was as follows: The court was fitted up as if for an audience listening to a panegyrical discourse; and all the illustrious men of the city were present at the trial, because the Emperor was intent upon proving before as many people as possible that Apollonius was an accomplice of Nerva and his friends. Apollonius, however, ignored the Emperor's presence so completely as not even to glance at him; and when his accuser upbraided him for want of respect, and bade him turn his eyes upon the god of all mankind, Apollonius raised his eyes to the ceiling, by way of giving a hint that he was looking up to Zeus, and that he regarded the recipient of such profane flattery as worse than he who administered it. Whereupon the accuser began to bellow and spoke somewhat as follows: "'Tis time, my sovereign, to apportion the water, for if you allow him to talk as long as he chooses, he will choke us. Moreover I have a roll here which contains the heads of the charges against him, and to these he must answer, so let him defend himself against them one by one."

CHAP.
IV

The counts
of the in-
dictment
reduced to
four

V

THE Emperor approved this plan of procedure and ordered Apollonius to make his defence according to the informer's advice; however, he dropped out other accusations, as not worth discussion, and confined himself to four questions which he thought were

CHAP.
V

CAP.
V
λόγον, ὑπὲρ τεττάρων δέ, ἅς ἀπόρους τε καὶ
 δυσαποκρίτους ᾤετο, ὧδε ἐρωτήσας· “τί γὰρ
 μαθών,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχεις
 ἅπασι στολήν, ἀλλ’ ἰδίαν τε καὶ ἐξαίρετον;” “ὅτι
 με,” εἶπεν, “ἡ τρέφουσα γῆ καὶ ἀμφιέννυσι, ζῶα
 δὲ ἄθλια οὐκ ἐνοχλῶ.” πάλιν ἤρετο, “τοῦ χάριν
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεόν σε ὀνομάζουσιν;” “ὅτι πᾶς,”
 εἶπεν, “ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς νομιζόμενος θεοῦ ἐπω-
 νυμία τιμᾶται.” ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὁπόθεν ἐφιλο-
 σοφήθη τῷ ἀνδρί, δεδήλωκα ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδῶν λόγοις.
 τρίτον ἤρετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ λοιμοῦ, “πόθεν
 γάρ,” ἔφη, “ὀρμώμενος ἢ τῷ ξυμβαλλόμενος
 προεῖπας τῇ Ἐφέσῳ νοσήσειν αὐτούς;” “λεπ-
 τοτέρα,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαίτη χρώμενος
 πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἡσθόμην· εἰ δὲ βούλει, λέγω
 καὶ λοιμῶν αἰτίας.” ὁ δ’, οἶμαι, δείσας μὴ τὴν
 ἀδικίαν καὶ τοὺς μὴ καθαρὸς γάμους καὶ ὁποῖα
 οὐκ εὐλόγως ἔπραττεν, ἐπιγράψῃ ταῖς τοιαύταις
 νόσοις, “οὐ δέομαι,” ἔφη, “τοιᾶσδε ἀποκρίσεως.”
 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τετάρτην ἐρώτησιν ἐπέφερεν ἐς τοὺς
 ἄνδρας, οὐκ εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν
 χρόνον διαλιπών, πολλὰ δὲ ἐνθυμηθεὶς, ἰλιγγιώντι
 δὲ ὅμοιος ἠρώτησεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν·
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ᾤοντο αὐτὸν ἐκπηδήσαντα τοῦ πλά-
 σματος μήτε τῆς προσηγορίας ἀφέξεσθαι τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν, σχέτλιά τε ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας βοήσεσθαι,
 ὁ δὲ οὐχ ὧδε, ἀλλ’ ὑφέρπων τὴν ἐρώτησιν,
 “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη, “προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας τῇ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

embarrassing and difficult to answer. "What induces you," he said, "Apollonius, to dress yourself differently from everybody else, and to wear this peculiar and singular garb?" "Because," said Apollonius, "the earth which feeds me also clothes me, and I do not like to bother the poor animals." The Emperor next asked the question: "Why is it that men call you a god?" "Because," answered Apollonius, "every man that is thought to be good, is honoured by the title of god." I have shown in my narrative of India how this tenet passed into our hero's philosophy. The third question related to the plague in Ephesus; "What motivated," he said, "or suggested your prediction to the Ephesians that they would suffer from a plague?" "I used," he said, "O my sovereign, a lighter diet than others, and so I was the first to be sensible of the danger; and, if you like, I will enumerate the causes of pestilences." But the Emperor, fearful, I imagine, lest Apollonius should reckon among the causes of such epidemics his own wrong-doing, and his incestuous marriage, and his other misdemeanours, replied: "Oh, I do not want any such answer as that." And when he came to the fourth question which related to Nerva and his friends, instead of hurrying straight on to it, he allowed a certain interval to elapse, and after long reflection, and with the air of one who felt dizzy, he put his question in a way which surprised them all; for they expected him to throw off all disguise and blurt out the names of the persons in question without any reserve, complaining loudly and bitterly of the sacrifice; but instead of putting the question in this way, he beat about the bush, and said: "Tell me, you went out of your house on a certain day,

CHAP
VI

CAP.
V. δέινει ἡμέρα καὶ ἐς ἀγρὸν πορευθεὶς τίνι ἐθύσω τὸν παῖδα ;” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὥσπερ μειρακίῳ ἐπιπλήττων, “εὐφήμει,” ἔφη, “εἰ μὲν γὰρ προῆλθον τῆς οἰκίας, ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀγρῷ, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἔθυσσα, εἰ δὲ ἔθυσσα, καὶ ἔφαγον. λεγόντων δὲ αὐτὰ οἱ πίστεως ἄξιοι.” τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰπόντος καὶ ἐπαίνου ἀρθέντος μείζονος ἢ βασιλείου ξυγχωρεῖ δικαστήριον, ξυμμαρτυρεῖν αὐτῷ νομίσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς παρόντας καὶ παθὼν τι πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, ἐπειδὴ ἔρρωντό τε καὶ νοῦν εἶχον, “ἀφίημί σε,” εἶπε, “τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, περιμενεῖς δέ, ἔστ’ ἂν ἰδίᾳ ξυγγενώμεθα.” ὁ δὲ ἐπιρρώσας ἑαυτόν, “σοὶ μὲν χάρις, ὦ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους τούτους ἀπολώλασι μὲν αἱ πόλεις, πλήρεις δ’ αἱ νῆσοι φυγάδων, ἡ δὲ ἡπειρος οἰμωγῆς, τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα δειλίας, ἡ δὲ ξύγκλητος ὑπονοίας. δός, εἰ βούλοιο, κάμοι τόπον, εἰ δὲ μή, πέμπε τὸν ληψόμενόν μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ’ ἂν τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν λάβοις,

οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὔτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι.

καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἠφανίσθη τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τόν τε παρόντα καιρὸν εὖ τιθέμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδ’ ἀπλῶς ὁ τύραννος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ περιουσίας ἐρωτήσων δῆλος ἦν—ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο γάρ που τῷ μὴ

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and you travelled into the country, and sacrificed the boy—I would like to know for whom?” And Apollonius as if he were rebuking a child replied: “Good words, I beseech you; for if I did leave my house, I was in the country; and if this was so, then I offered the sacrifice: and if I offered it, then I ate of it. But let these assertions be proved by trustworthy witnesses.” Such a reply on the part of the sage aroused louder applause than beseeemed the court of an Emperor; and the latter deeming the audience to have borne witness in favour of the accused, and also not a little impressed himself by the answers he had received, for they were both firm and sensible, said: “I acquit you of the charges; but you must remain here until we have had a private interview.” Thereat Apollonius was much encouraged and said: “I thank you indeed, my sovereign, but I would fain tell you that by reason of these miscreants your cities are in ruin, and the islands full of exiles, and the mainland of lamentations, and your armies of cowardice, and the senate of suspicion. Accord me also, if you will, opportunity to speak; but if not, then send some one to take my body, for my soul you cannot take. Nay, you cannot take even my body,

CHAP.

V

The sacrifice of a boy

Apollonius acquitted

“For thou shalt not slay me, since I tell thee I am not mortal.” Iliad 22. 13

And with these words he vanished from the court, which was the best thing he could do under the circumstances, for the Emperor clearly intended not to question him sincerely about the case, but about all sorts of irrelevant matters. For he took great credit to himself for not having put Apollonius to

CAP.
V ἀπεκτονέναι αὐτόν—τοῦ τε μὴ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπαχθῆναι προορῶν. τυχεῖν δ' αὖ τούτου ἄριστα ἡγεῖτο, εἰ μὴ ἀγνοοῖτο τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ γινγνώσκοιτο, ὥς ἔχοι τοῦ μὴ ἂν ποτε ἀλῶναι ἄκων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δέος τὸ περὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εὖ ἤδη αὐτῷ εἶχεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν γὰρ μηδὲ ἐρέσθαι τι ὁ τύραννος ὥρμησε, πῶς ἂν τούτους εἰς τὸ πιθανὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπὶ ταῖς οὐκ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ πεπιστευμέναις αἰτίαις; τοιάδε εὗρον τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκῃ.

VI

CAP.
VI Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος μὲν αὐτῷ ξυνεγράφη τις ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν ἀπολογία ἀφήσονται, ξυνεῖλε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος εἰς ἃς εἴρηκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν γάρ, ὅτι διαβαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰς βωμολόχους ιδέας ἐπαινοῦντες, ὥς ἦττον μέν, ἢ αὐτοὶ φασι δεῖν, κεκολασμένον, ὑπεραίροντα δὲ τοῖς τε ὀνόμασι καὶ ταῖς γνώμασι. τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὐ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ σοφὸς ὑγιῶς ἂν ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἦθος πάρισα ἐπιτηδεύων καὶ ἀντίθετα, καὶ κροτάλον δίκην κτυπῶν τῇ γλώττῃ, ῥητορικοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τρόπου ταῦτα, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις δεῖ δεινότης γὰρ ἐν δικαστηρίοις, ἢ μὲν φανερά καὶ διαβάλοι

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death, nor was the latter anxious to be drawn into such discussions. And he thought that he would best effect his end if he left no one in ignorance of his true nature, but allowed it to be known to all to be such that he had it in him never to be taken prisoner against his own will. Moreover he had no longer any cause for anxiety about his friends; for as the despot had not the courage to ask any questions about them, how could he possibly put them to death with any colour of justice upon charges to which, in court, he had accorded no credence whatever? Such was the account of the proceedings of the trial which I found.

VI

BUT inasmuch as he had composed an oration which he would have delivered by the clock in defence of himself, only the tyrant confined him to the questions which I have enumerated, I have determined to publish this oration also. For I am well aware, indeed, that those who highly esteem the style of buffoons will find fault with it, as being less chaste and severe in its style than they consider it should be, and as too bombastic in language and tone. However, when I consider that Apollonius was a sage, it seems to me that he would have unworthily concealed his true character, if he had merely studied symmetry of endings, and antithesis, clicking his tongue as if it had been a castanet. For these tricks suit the genius of rhetoricians, though they are not necessary even to them. For forensic art, if it be too obvious, is apt to

CHAP.
VI
Apollonius
apologia
pro vita

CAP. VI. τινὰ ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς ψηφιομένοις, ἢ δ' ἀφανῆς κὰν ἀπέλθοι κρατοῦσα, τὸ γὰρ λαθεῖν τοὺς δικάζοντας, ὥς δεινός ἐστιν, ἀληθεστέρα δεινότης. σοφῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀπολογουμένῳ, οὐ γὰρ κατηγορήσει γε ὁ σοφός, ἃ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἔρρωται, ἥθους τε δεῖ ἐτέρου παρὰ τοὺς δικανικοὺς ἄνδρας, λόγου τε κατεσκευασμένου μὲν, μὴ δοκοῦντος δέ, καὶ ὑπόσεμνος ἔστω καὶ μὴ πολὺ ἀποδέων τοῦ ὑπερόπτης εἶναι, ἔλεός τε ἀπέστω λέγοντος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ἀντιβολῆσαι ξυγχωρῶν τί ἂν οὗτος ἐπὶ ἐλέῳ εἴποι; τοιόσδε ὁ λόγος δόξει τοῖς γε μὴ μαλακῶς ἀκροασομένοις ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ξυνετέθη γὰρ αὐτῷ ὧδε·

VII

CAP. VII. “Ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων σοί τε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κἀμοί· σύ τε γὰρ κινδυνεύεις ὑπὲρ ὧν μήποτε αὐτοκράτωρ, εἰ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν οὐδεμιᾷ δίκη διαβεβλήσθαι δόξεις, ἐγὼ τε ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδὲ Σωκράτης ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ὃν οἱ γραψάμενοι τὴν γραφὴν καινὸν μὲν τὰ δαιμόνια ἡγοῦντο, daίμονα δὲ οὔτε ἐκάλουν οὔτε ᾤοντο. κινδύνου δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον ἡμῶν οὕτω χαλεποῦ ἦκοντος, οὐκ ὀκνήσω

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betray him who resorts to it as anxious to impose CHAP.
VI
upon the judges; whereas if it is well concealed, it is likely to carry off a favourable verdict; for true cleverness consists in concealing from the judges the very cleverness of the pleader. But when a wise man is defending his cause,—and I need not say that a wise man will not arraign another for faults which he has the will and strength to rebuke,—he requires quite another style than that of the hacks of the law-court; and though his oration must be well-prepared, it must not seem to be so, and it should possess a certain elevation almost amounting to scorn, and he must take care in speaking not to throw himself on the pity of his judges. For how can he appeal to the pity of others who would not condescend to solicit anything? Such an oration will my hero's seem to those who shall diligently study both myself and him; for it was composed by him in the following manner:

VII

(i) “My prince, we are at issue with one another CHAP.
VII
concerning matters of grave moment; for you run such a risk as never autocrat did before you, that Exhorts
Domitian
to be fair
namely of being thought to be animated by a wholly unjust hatred of philosophy; while I am exposed to a worse peril than was ever Socrates at Athens, for though his accusers taxed him in their indictment with introducing new beliefs about demons, they never went so far as to call him or think him a demon. Since, however, so grave a peril besets us both, I will not hesitate to tender you the advice of

CAP.
VII

καὶ σοὶ συμβουλεύειν, ὅποσα ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατέστησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ κατήγορος ἐς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἐσῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἀληθῆς περὶ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ σοῦ δόξα· σὲ μὲν γὰρ ὦντο συμβούλῳ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὀργῇ χρῆσθαι, δι' ἣν κἂν ἀποκτεῖναί με, ὅ τι ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐμὲ δ' ἐκποιήσειν ἐμαυτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου τρόποις, ὅποσοι τοῦ ἀποδρᾶναι εἰσιν, ἦσαν δ', ὦ βασιλεῦ, μυρίοι καὶ τούτων ἀκούων οὐκ ἐς τὸ προκαταγιγνώσκειν ἦλθον, οὐδὲ κατεψηφισάμην τῆς τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὥς μὴ τὸ εὐθὺ ἐχούσης, ἀλλὰ ξυνθέμενος τοῖς νόμοις ἔστηκα ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ· τούτου ξύμβουλος καὶ σοὶ γίγνομαι. δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ μὴ προκαταγιγνώσκειν, μηδὲ καθῆσθαι πεπεισμένον, ὥς ἐγὼ τί σε κακὸν εἴργασμαι, μηδ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίου καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἄρχουσιν, οἷς ἵππος τε παμπόλλη ἐστὶ καὶ τοξεία πᾶσα καὶ χρυσῇ γῇ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὄχλος, ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἀκούειν ξὺν γέλωτι τὸ πείσεσθαι τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὃ σε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἀφαιρήσεται, κατ' ἀνδρὸς δὲ σοφοῦ καὶ γυμνοῦ πιστεύειν, ὥς ἐστι τούτῳ ὄπλον ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ προσδέχεσθαι ταῦτα Αἰγυπτίου συκοφάντου λέγοντος, ἃ μηδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ποτε ἤκουσας, ἣν σεαυτοῦ προορᾶν φῆς, εἰ μὴ, νῆ Δία, ἣ κολακευτικὴ καὶ τὸ συκοφαντεῖν οὕτω

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

whose excellence I am myself convinced. For since the accuser has plunged us into this struggle, the many have been led to form a false opinion of both myself and of you. They have come to imagine that in this audience you will listen only to the counsels of anger, with the result that you will even put me to death, whatever death means, and that I in turn shall try to evade this tribunal in some of the many ways there are,—and they were, my prince, myriad,—of escaping from it. Though these rumours have reached my ears, I have not contracted any prejudice against you, nor have I done you the injury of supposing you will hear my cause otherwise than in accordance with the strictest principles of equity ; for in conformity with the laws I submit myself to their pronouncement. And I would advise you also to do the same ; for justice demands that you should neither prejudge the case, nor take your seat on the bench with your mind made up to the belief that I have done you any wrong. If you were told that the Armenian, the Babylonian and other foreign potentates were about to inflict some disaster on you, which must lead to the loss of your empire, you would, I am sure, laugh outright ; although they have hosts of cavalry, all kinds of archers, a gold-bearing soil and, as I know full well, a teeming population. And yet you distrust a philosopher, naked of means of offence, and are ready to believe he is a menace to the autocrat of the Romans,—all this on the mere word of an Egyptian sycophant. Never did you hear such tales from Athene, whom you allege to be your guardian spirit, unless indeed, great Heavens ! their faculty of flattering and falsely accusing others has so increased the influence of

CHAP.
VII

Pleads his
humble
position as
a mere
sage

CAP.
VII

τι νῦν τοῖς ἀλιτηρίοις τούτοις ἐπιδέδωκεν, ὥς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὅποσα ὀφθαλμαί τε εἰσι καὶ τὸ μὴ πυρέξαι, μηδ' ἀνοιδῆσαι τι τῶν σπλάγχνων, ἐπιτηδεῖους εἶναί σοι ξυμβούλους φάσκειν, ἱατρῶν δίκην ἐφαπτομένους καὶ θεραπεύοντας, ὅτου αὐτῶν πονήρως ἔχοις, περὶ δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι κινδυνεύοντί σοι μηθ' οὐς φυλάττεσθαι χρὴ ξυμβουλεύειν μήθ' ὅ τι ἔσται σοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὄπλον διδάσκειν ἤκοντας, ἀλλ' εἶναί σοι τοὺς συκοφάντας αἰγίδα Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Διὸς χεῖρα, εἰδέναι μὲν ὑπὲρ σοῦ φάσκοντας, ἂ μηδ' οἱ θεοί, προεγρηγορότας δέ σου καὶ προκαθεύδοντας, εἰ δὴ καθεύδουσιν οὗτοι, κακοῖς, φασιν, ἐπαντλοῦντες κακὰ καὶ τὰς Ἰλιάδας ταύτας ἀεὶ ξυντιθέντες.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἵπποτροφεῖν αὐτοὺς καπλὶ ζευγῶν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκκυκλεῖσθαι λευκῶν, καὶ ἡ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ ὀψοφαγία καὶ μυριάδων δύο καὶ τριῶν ἐωνημένα παιδικά, καὶ τὸ μοιχεύειν μὲν, ὃν λαυθάνουσι χρόνον, γαμεῖν δέ, ἃς ἐμοίχευσαν, ὅταν ἐπ' αὐταῖς ληφθῶσι, καὶ οἱ κροτοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς νίκαις, ἐπειδὰν φιλόσοφός τις ἢ ὕπατος, ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, ἀλῶ μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀπόληται δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ,

these miscreants, that you would pretend that
 whereas in insignificant matters, such as sore eyes, and
 avoidance of fevers and inflammation of the bowels,
 the Gods are your apt advisers, manipulating and
 healing you after the manner of physicians of
 any one of these maladies you may be suffering from,
 they, nevertheless, in matters which imperil your
 throne and your life, give you no counsel either as to
 the persons you should guard against or as to
 the weapons you should employ against them, but,
 instead of coming to your aid, leave you to the
 tender mercies of false accusers, whom you regard
 as the Aegis of Athene or the hand of Zeus, just
 because they assert that they understand your
 welfare better even than do the gods, and that
 they ever watch over you in the hours of their
 waking and sleeping, if indeed these wretches
 can sleep after pouring out such wicked lies and
 compiling ever and anon whole Iliads such as this
 one.

That they should keep horses and roll theatrically
 into the forum in chariots drawn by snowy teams,
 that they should gorge themselves off dishes of
 silver and gold, parade favourites that cost them
 two or three myriad sesterces, that they should go
 on committing adultery as long as they are not
 found out and then, and not before, marry the
 victims of their lusts when they are caught red-
 handed, that their splendid successes should be
 hailed with applause, as often as some philosopher
 or consul, absolutely innocent, falls into their
 toils, and is put to death by yourself—all this I am
 willing to concede to the licence of these accursed
 wretches and to their brazen indifference to the

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δεδόσθω τῇ τῶν καταράτων τρυφῇ καὶ τῷ μήτε νόμων αὐτοῖς ἔτι μήτ' ὀφθαλμῶν εἶναι φόβον, τὸ δ' οὕτω τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φρονεῖν, ὡς προγιγνώσκειν βούλεσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐτ' ἐπαινῶ καὶ ἀκούων δέδια, σὺ δ' εἰ προσδέξοιο, γράψονται καὶ σέ ἴσως ὡς διαβάλλοντα τὴν περὶ τοῦ θείου δόξαν, ἐλπίς γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ ξυγκείσσεσθαι τοιαύτας γραφάς, ἐπειδὰν. μηδεὶς τοῖς συκοφάνταις λοιπὸς ἦ· καὶ ξυνήμι μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπολογούμενος, εἰρήσθω δέ μοι ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, οὓς εἰ μὴ ἄρχοντας ἡγοῖο, οὐκ ἄρξεις.

Τίς οὖν ξυνήγορος ἔσται μοι ἀπολογουμένῳ; εἰ γὰρ καλέσαιμι τὸν Δία, ὑφ' ᾧ βεβιωκῶς οἶδα, γοητεύειν με φήσουσι καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄγειν. διαλεγώμεθα οὖν περὶ τούτου ἀνδρί, ὃν τεθνάναι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ φασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ φημι· ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σός, ᾧ ἐγὼ τοσούτου ἄξιος, ὅσου περ ἐκεῖνος σοί· σὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐποίησεν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο. οὗτος, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, ξυλλήπτωρ ἔσται μοι τῆς ἀπολογίας, πολλῷ τὰμὰ βέλτιον ἢ σὺ γιγνώσκων· ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Αἴγυπτον οὐπω αὐτοκράτωρ, θεοῖς τε τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θύσων καμοὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς διαλεξόμενος. ἐντυχὼν δέ μοι κομῶντί τε καὶ ᾧδε ἐσταλμένῳ οὐδὲ ἤρετο οὐδὲ ἐν περὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ἡγούμενος τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πᾶν εὖ ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δ' ἔνεχ' ἡκεῖν ὁμολογήσας, ἀπήλθεν

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public eye and to law : but that they should give themselves the airs of superhuman beings and presume to know better than the gods, I cannot approve or allow ; and the mere rumour of it fills me with horror. And if you allow such things to be, they will perhaps accuse even yourself of offending against established religion. For we may expect the sycophants to concoct such accusations against yourself, so soon as they have exhausted the list of their other victims. I know that my tone is rather that of a censor than that of a defendant ; if so, you must pardon me for thus speaking up in behalf of the laws, with the recognition of whose authority by yourself stands and falls that of your own.

(ii) Who then will be my advocate while I am defending myself? For if I called upon Zeus to help me, under whom I am conscious of having passed my life, they will accuse me of being a wizard and of bringing heaven down to earth. Let us then appeal in this matter to one whom I deny to be dead, although the many assert it, I mean your own father, who held me in the same esteem in which you hold him ; for he made you, and was in turn made by me. He, my prince, shall assist me in my defence, because he knows my character much better than yourself ; for he came to Egypt before he was raised to the throne, as much to converse with me about the Empire as to sacrifice to the gods of Egypt. And when he found me with my long hair and dressed as I am at this moment, he did not ask me a single question about my costume, because he considered that everything about me was well ; but he admitted that he had come thither on my account,

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VII

Repels the
charge of
wizardry

CAP. VII. ἐπαινέσας καὶ εἰπὼν μὲν ἂ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἀκούσας δ' ἂ μὴ παρ' ἄλλου· ἥ τε διάνοια, ἥ ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἐχρήτο, ἐρρώσθη αὐτῷ παρ' ἐμοῦ μάλιστα, μεθεστηκυῖα ἤδη ὑφ' ἐτέρων, οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδείων μέν, οὐ μὴν σοί γε δόξαι, οἱ γὰρ μὴ ἄρχειν αὐτὸν πείθοντες καὶ σὲ δήπου αὐτὸ ἀφηροῦντο τὸ μετ' ἐκείνῳ ταῦτ' ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δὲ ξυμβουλευόντος ἑαυτόν τε μὴ ἀπαξιοῦν ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτῷ φοιτώσης, ὑμᾶς τε κληρονόμους αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι, εὖ ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην φήσας, αὐτός τε μέγας ἦρθη καὶ ὑμᾶς ἦρεν· εἰ δὲ γοήτά με ᾤετο, οὐδ' ἂν ξυνῆψέ μοι κοινωνίαν φροντίδων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἦκὼν διελέγετο, οἷον ἀνάγκασον τὰς Μοίρας ἢ τὸν Δία, τύραννον ἀποφῆναί με ἢ τεράτευσαι διοσημίας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, δείξας τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας, δυόμενον δέ, ὅθεν ἄρχεται. οὐ γὰρ ἂν μοι ἐπιτήδειος ἄρχειν ἔδοξεν, ἢ ἐμὲ ἡγούμενος ἱκανὸν ταῦτα, ἢ σοφίσμασι θηρεύων ἀρχήν, ἣν ἀρεταῖς ἔδει κατακτᾶσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ δημοσίᾳ διελέχθην ἐν ἱερῷ, γοήτων δὲ ξυνουσίαι φεύγουσι μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἐχθρὰ γὰρ τοῖς περὶ τὴν τέχνην, νύκτα δὲ καὶ πᾶν, ὃ τι ἀφεγγές, αὐτῶν προβαλλόμενοι, οὐ ξυγχωροῦσι τοῖς ἀνόητοις οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν οὔτε ὤτα. διελέχθη μοι καὶ ἰδία

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and after commending me and saying to me things which he would have said to no one else, and having heard from me what he would have heard from no one else, he departed. I most confirmed him in his aspirations for the throne, when others already sought to dissuade him,—in no unfriendly spirit, I admit, though you anyhow cannot agree with them; for those who tried to persuade him not to assume the reins of Empire were assuredly on their way to deprive you also of the succession to him which you now hold. But by my advice he did not hold himself unworthy, he said, of the kingdom which lay within his grasp and of making you the heirs thereto; and he fully acknowledged the entire wisdom of my advice, and he was raised himself to the pinnacle of greatness, as in turn he raised yourselves. Now if he had looked upon me as a wizard, he would never have taken me into his confidence, for he did not come and say such things as this to me: Compel the Fates or compel Zeus to appoint me tyrant, or to work miracles and portents in my behalf, and show me the sun rising in the west and setting at the point where he rises. For I should not have thought him a fit person for empire if he had either considered me as an adept in such art, or resorted to such tricks in pursuit of a crown which it behoved him to win by his virtues alone. More than this my conversation with him was held publicly in a temple, and wizards do not affect temples of the gods as their places of reunion; for such places are inimical to those who deal in magic, and they cloak their art under the cover of night and of every sort of darkness, so as to preclude their dupes from the use of their eyes and ears. It is true that he also had a private conver-

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CAP
VII

μέν, παρετύγχανον δὲ ὅμως Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων, ὁ μὲν πολεμιώτατά μοι ἔχων, ὁ δ' οἰκειότατα, Δίωνα γὰρ μὴ παυσαίμην γράφων ἐν φίλοις. τίς ἂν οὖν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἢ μεταποιοιμένων γε σοφίας ἐς γόητας ἔλθοι λόγους; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν παραπλησίως φυλάξαιτο καὶ ἐν φίλοις καὶ ἐν ἐχθροῖς κακὸς φαίνεσθαι; καὶ οἱ λόγοι ἦσαν ἐναντιούμενοι τοῖς γόησι· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἴσως τὸν πατέρα ἡγῇ τὸν σεαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἐρῶντα γόησι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτῷ πιστεῦσαι, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς, ἵνα τούτου τύχοι, παρ' ἐμοῦ εὐρέσθαι, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἦκειν ἔχειν ᾤετο, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὑπὲρ μειζύνων ἐμοὶ διελέγετο, ὑπὲρ νόμων καὶ ὑπὲρ πλούτου δικαίου, θεοί τε ὡς θεραπεύτεοι, καὶ ὅποσα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρχουσι, μαθεῖν ἦρα· οἷς πᾶσιν ἐναντίον χρήμα οἱ γόητες, εἰ γὰρ ἰσχύοι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔσται ἡ τέχνη.

Προσῆκει δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κακεῖνα ἐπεσκέφθαι τέχνην ὅποσαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους εἰσὶ, πράττουσι μὲν ἄλλο ἄλλῃ, πᾶσαι δ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, αἱ μὲν σμικρῶν, αἱ δ' αὖ μεγάλων, αἱ δ' ἀφ' ὧν θρέφονται· καὶ οὐχ αἱ βάνανσοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν σοφαί τε ὁμοίως καὶ

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sation with me, but there were present at it beside myself Euphrates and Dion, one of them my bitter enemy, but the other my firmest friend; for may there never come a time when I shall not reckon Dion among my friends. Now I ask you, who would begin to talk wizardry in the presence of wise men or of men anyhow laying claim to wisdom? And who would not be equally on his guard both among friends and among enemies of betraying his villainy? And moreover our conversation on that occasion was directed against wizards; for you surely will not suppose that your own father when he was aspiring to the throne set more confidence in wizards than in himself, or that he got me to put pressure upon heaven, that he might obtain his object, when, on the contrary, he was confident of winning the crown before ever he came to Egypt; and subsequently he had more important matters to talk over with me, namely the laws and the just acquisition of wealth, and how the gods ought to be worshipped, and what blessings they have in store for those monarchs who govern their people in accordance with the laws. These are the subjects which he desired to learn about, and they are all the direct opposite of wizardry; for if they count for anything at all, there will be an end of the black art.

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(iii) And there is another point, my prince, which merits your attention. The various arts known to mankind, in spite of the difference of their functions and achievements, are yet all concerned to make money, some earning less, some earning more, and some just enough to live upon; and not only the base mechanic arts, but of the rest those which

Liberal
and il-
liberal arts

CAP. VII. ὑπόσοφοι, πλὴν ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας. καλῶ δὲ σοφὰς μὲν ποιητικὴν μουσικὴν ἀστρονομίαν, σοφιστὰς καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς μὴ ἀγοραίους, ὑποσόφους δὲ ζωγραφίαν πλαστικὴν ἀγαλματοποιοὺς κυβερνήτας γεωργούς, ἣν ταῖς ὥραις ἔπωνται, καὶ γὰρ αἶδε αἱ τέχναι σοφίας οὐ πολὺ λείπονται. ἔστι δέ τι, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, ψευδόσοφοί τε καὶ ἀγείροντες, ὃ μὴ μαντικὴν ὑπολάβης, πολλοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀξία, ἣν ἀληθεύῃ, εἰ δ' ἐστὶ τέχνη, οὐπω οἶδα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδοσόφους φημί· τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστεῖσθαι, πάντα ταῦτα προστίθημι τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων δόξῃ, τὸ γὰρ σοφὸν τῆς τέχνης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων τε καὶ [θυομένων ἀνοία κεῖται, ἡ δὲ τέχνη φιλοχρήματοι πάντες, ἃ γὰρ κομψεύονται, ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ σφισὶν εὔρηται, μαστεύουσι δ' ὑπερβολὰς χρημάτων, ὑπαγόμενοι τοὺς ὅτουδ' ἐρῶντας ὡς ἱκανοὶ πάντα. τίνα οὖν, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, πλούτου περὶ ἡμᾶς ἰδὼν ψευδοσοφίαν ἐπιτηδεύειν με οἶει, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς κρείττω με ἡγουμένου χρημάτων; ὅτι δ' ἀληθῇ

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are esteemed liberal¹ arts as well as those which only border upon being liberal, and true philosophy is the only exception. And by liberal arts I mean poetry, music, astronomy, the art of the sophist and of the orator, the merely forensic kinds excepted; and by the arts which border upon liberal I mean those of the painter, modeller, sculptor, navigator, agriculturist, in case the latter waits upon the seasons; for these arts are not very inferior to the liberal professions. And on the other hand, my prince, there are the pseudo-liberal arts of jugglers, which I would not have you confuse with divination, for this is highly esteemed, if it be genuine and tell the truth, though whether it is an art, I am not yet sure. But I anyhow affirm wizards to be professors of a pseudo-liberal art, for they get men to believe that the unreal is real, and to distrust the real as unreal, and I attribute all such effects to the imaginative fancy of the dupes; for the cleverness of this art is relative to the folly of the persons who are deceived by them, and who offer the sacrifices they prescribe; and its professors are given up wholly to filthy lucre, for all their parade of skill is devised by them in hope of gain, and they are always on the look out for big fortunes, and they try to persuade people who are passionately attached to something or another that they are capable of getting everything for them. Do you then find me so opulent as to warrant me in supposing that I cultivate this sort of false and illiberal wisdom, the more so as your own father considered me to be above all pecuniary considerations? And to show you that

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¹ I translate the same word σοφός in this passage by *liberal*, *wise*, and *clever* according to the context.

CAP. VII. λέγω, ποῦ μοι ἡ ἐπιστολή τοῦ γενναίου τε καὶ
 θείου ἀνδρός ; ὅς με ἐν αὐτῇ ᾄδει τά τε ἄλλα καὶ
 τὸ πένεσθαι.”

αὐτοκράτωρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλο-
 σόφῳ χαίρειν.

“ Εἰ πάντες, Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ ταῦτά σοι φιλο-
 σοφεῖν ἤθελον, σφόδρα ἂν εὐδαιμόνως ἔπραττε
 φιλοσοφία τε καὶ πενία· φιλοσοφία μὲν ἀδε-
 κύστως ἔχουσα, πενία δὲ αὐθαιρέτως. ἔρρωσο.”

“ Ταῦθ’ ὁ πατήρ ὁ σὸς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθω,
 φιλοσοφίας μὲν τὸ ἀδέκαστον, πενίας δὲ τὸ αὐθαί-
 ρετον ἐμοὶ ὀριζόμενος, ἐμέμνητο γάρ που καὶ τῶν
 κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὅτ’ Εὐφράτης μὲν καὶ πολλοὶ
 τῶν προσποιουμένων φιλοσοφεῖν προσιόντες αὐτῷ
 χρήματα οὐδ’ ἀφανῶς ἦτον, ἐγὼ δ’ οὐ μόνον οὐ
 προσήειν ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ κακείνους ἐώθουν
 ὡς οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντας, διεβεβλήμην δὲ πρὸς χρήματα
 μεράκιον ὧν ἔτι· τὰ γοῦν πατρῶα, λαμπρὰ δ’ ἦν
 οὐσία ταῦτα, μιᾷς μόνης ἰδὼν ἡμέρας, ἀδελφοῖς τε
 τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ ἀφῆκα καὶ φίλοις, καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν
 τοῖς πένησι, μελετῶν που ἀφ’ Ἑστίας τὸ μηδενὸς
 δεῖσθαι· ἐάσθω δὲ Βαβυλῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ
 Καύκασόν τε καὶ ποταμὸν Ὑφασιν, δι’ ὧν ἐπο-
 ρευόμην ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος· ἀλλὰ τῶν γε ἐνταῦθα καὶ
 τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον βλέπειν ποιοῦμαι μάρτυρα
 τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τοῦτον· δεινὰ γὰρ πεπρᾶχθαί τέ

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I speak the truth, here is a letter to me from that noble and divine man, who in it praises me more especially for my poverty. It runs thus :

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VII

“The autocrat Vespasian to Apollonius the philosopher sends greetings.

Vespasian's
testimony
in favour of
Apollonius

“If all men, Apollonius, were disposed to be philosophers in the same spirit as yourself, then the lot no less of philosophy than of poverty would be an extremely happy one ; for your philosophy is pure and disinterested, and your poverty is voluntary. Farewell.”

Let this be your sire's pleading in my behalf, when he thus lays stress upon the disinterestedness of my philosophy, and the voluntariness of my poverty. For I have no doubt he had in mind the episode in Egypt, when Euphrates and several of those who pretended to be philosophers approached him, and in no obscure language begged for money ; whereas I myself not only did not solicit him for money, but repudiated them as impostors for doing so. And I also showed an aversion from money from my first youth ; for realising that my patrimony, and it was a considerable property, was at best but a transitory toy, I gave it up to my brothers and to my friends and to the poorer of my relatives, so disciplining myself from my very home and hearth to want nothing. I will not dwell upon Babylon and the parts of India beyond the Caucasus and the river Hyphasis, through which I journeyed ever true to myself. But in favour of my life here and no less of the fact that I have never coveted money, I will invoke the testimony of this Egyptian here ; for he accuses me of every sort of evil deed

CAP. VII. μοι καὶ βεβουλευσθαι φήσας, οὐθ' ὁπόσων χρημάτων ἐπανούργουν ταῦτα, εἶρηκεν, οὐθ' ὅ τι ἐνθυμηθεὶς κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνόητος αὐτῷ δοκῶ τις, ὡς γοητεύειν μέν, ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἕτεροι χρημάτων, αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖν οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἀγοράν, οἶμαι, προκηρύττων τοιαύτην· ἴτε, ὦ ἀνόητοι, γοητεύω γάρ, καὶ οὐδ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ προῖκα, κερδανεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸ ἀπελθεῖν ἕκαστος ἔχων, ὅτου ἐρᾷ, ἐγὼ δὲ κινδύνους καὶ γραφάς.

Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐς ἀνοήτους ἴωμεν λόγους, ἐρώμεθα τὸν κατήγορον, ὑπὲρ ὅτου χρή λέγειν πρώτου. καίτοι τί χρή ἐρωτᾶν; διήλθε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς στολῆς τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου, καί, νῆ Δί', ὦν σιτοῦμαί τε καὶ οὐ σιτοῦμαι. ἀπολογοῦ δὴ ὑπὲρ τούτων, θέϊε Πυθαγόρα, κρινόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὧν σὺ μὲν εὖρες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινῶ. ἀνθρώποις ἢ γῇ φύει, βασιλεῦ, πάντα, καὶ σπονδὰς ἄγειν πρὸς τὰ ζῶα βουλομένοις δεῖ οὐδενός, τὰ μὲν γὰρ δρέπονται αὐτῆς, τὰ δ' ἀροῦνται κουροτροφούσης, ὡς ταῖς ὥραις ἔοικεν, οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἀνήκοοι τῆς γῆς μάχαιραν ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἔθηξαν ὑπὲρ ἐσθῆτός τε καὶ βρώσεως. Ἰνδοὶ τοίνυν Βραχμᾶνες αὐτοὶ τε οὐκ ἐπήνουν ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Αἰγυπτίων ἐδίδασκον μὴ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτά· ἔνθεν Πυθαγόρας ἐλών, Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτος ἐπέμιξεν Αἰγυπτίοις, τὰ μὲν ἔμφυχα

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and design, yet we hear nothing from him of how much money I made by these villainies, nor of how much gain I had in view; indeed he thinks me such a simpleton as to practise my wizardry for nothing, and whereas others only commit their crimes for much money, he thinks that I commit them for none at all. It is as if I cried my wares to the public in such terms as the following: Come, O ye Dupes, for I am a wizard; and I practise my art not for money, but free, gratis, and for nothing; and so you shall earn a great reward, for each of you will go off with his heart's desire, while I shall get away with nothing but dangers and writs of accusation.

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(iv) But without descending to such silly arguments, I would like to ask the accuser which of his counts I ought to take first. And yet why need I ask him? for at the beginning of his speech he dwelt upon my dress, and by Zeus, upon what I eat and what I do not eat. O divine Pythagoras, do thou defend me upon these counts; for we are put upon our trial for a rule of life of which thou wast the discoverer, and of which I am the humble partisan. For the earth, my prince, grows everything for mankind; and those who are pleased to live at peace with the brute creation want nothing, for some fruits they can cull from earth, others they win from her furrows, for she is the nurse of men, as suits the seasons; but these men, as it were deaf to the cries of mother-earth, whet their knife against her children in order to get themselves dress and food. Here then is something which the Brahmans of India themselves condemned, and which they taught the naked sages of Egypt also to condemn; and from them Pythagoras took his rule of life, and he was the first of Hellenes

Avoidance
of animal
food

Rule of
Pythagoras

CAP.
VII

τῇ γῇ ἀνήκεν, ἃ δ' αὐτὴ φύει, ἀκήρατα εἶναι
 φάσκων ἐσιτεῖτο, ἐπιτήδεια γὰρ σῶμα καὶ νοῦν
 τρέφειν ἐσθῆτά τε, ἣν ἀπὸ θνησειδίων οἱ πολλοὶ
 φοροῦσιν, οὐ καθαρὰν εἶναι φήσας λίνον ἡμπί-
 σχετο, καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον
 βύβλου ἐπλέξατο. ἀπέλαυσέ τε τοῦ καθαρὸς
 εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς
 αἰσθέσθαι· γενόμενος γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὗς
 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλένης ἢ Τροία ἐμάχετο, καὶ τῶν τοῦ
 Πάνθου παίδων κάλλιστος ὢν καὶ κάλλιστα
 ἐσταλμένος, ἀπέθανε μὲν οὕτω νέος, ὥς καὶ Ὀμήρῳ
 παρασχεῖν θρήνον, παρελθὼν δ' ἐς πλείω σώματα
 κατὰ τὸν Ἀδραστείας θεσμόν, ὃν ψυχὴ ἐναλ-
 λάττει, πάλιν ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς ἀνθρώπου εἶδος καὶ
 Μνησαρχίδῃ ἐτέχθη τῷ Σαμίῳ, σοφὸς ἐκ βαρβάρου
 καὶ Ἴων ἐκ Τρώος, καὶ οὕτω τι ἀθάνατος, ὥς μὴδ'
 ὅτι Εὐφορβος ἦν ἐκλελῆσθαι. τὸν μὲν δὴ πρό-
 γονον τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ σοφίας εἶρηκα καὶ τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς
 εὐρών, κληρονομήσας δὲ ἐτέρου ταῦτ' ἔχειν. καὶ γὰρ
 μὲν οὐ κρίνω τοὺς τρυφῶντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φοινικίου
 ὄρμιθος, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐκ Φάσιδος ἢ Παιόνων, οὗς
 πιαίνουσιν ἐς τὰς αὐτῶν δαῖτας οἱ τῇ γαστρὶ
 χαριζόμενοι πάντα, οὐδ' ἐγραψάμην πῶ οὐδένα

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who had intercourse with the Egyptians. And it was his rule to give up and leave her animals to the earth; but all things which she grows, he declared, were pure and undefiled, and ate of them accordingly, because they were best adapted to nourish both body and soul. But the garments which most men wear made of the hides of dead animals, he declared to be impure; and accordingly clad himself in linen, and on the same principles had his shoes woven of byblus. And what were the advantages which he derived from such purity? Many, and before all the privilege of recognising his own soul. For he had existed in the age when Troy was fighting about Helen, and he had been the fairest of the sons of Panthus, and the best equipped of them all, yet he died at so young an age as to excite the lamentations even of Homer. Well after that he passed into several bodies according to the decree of Adrastea, which transfers the soul from body to body, and then he again resumed the form of man, and was born to Mnesarchides of Samos, this time a sage instead of a barbarian, and an Ionian instead of a Trojan, and so immune from death that he did not even forget that he was Euphorbus. I have then told you who was the begetter of my own wisdom, and I have shown that it is no discovery of my own, but an inheritance come to me from another. And as for myself though I do not condemn or judge those who make it part of their luxury to consume the red-plumaged bird, or the fowls from Phasis or the land of the Paeones, which are fattened up for their banquets by those who can deny nothing to their bellies, and though I have never yet brought an accusation

CHAP
VII

CAP. VII ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰχθύων, οὓς ὠνοῦνται πλείονος ἢ τοὺς κοππατίας ποτὲ οἱ λαμπροί, οὐδ' ἀλουργίδος ἐβάσκηνα οὐδενί, οὐδὲ Παμφύλου τινὸς ἢ μαλακῆς ἐσθῆτος, ἀσφοδέλου δέ, ᾧ θεοί, καὶ τραγημάτων καὶ καθαρᾶς ὀψοφαγίας γραφὴν φεύγω.

Καὶ οὐδὲ ἡ ἐσθῆς ἄσυλος, ἀλλὰ κακείνην λωποδυτεῖ με ὁ κατήγορος ὡς πολλοῦ ἀξίαν τοῖς γόησι. καίτοι ἀφελόντι τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμψύχων τε καὶ ἀψύχων λόγον, δι' ὧν καθαρὸς τις ἢ μὴ δοκεῖ, τί βελτίων ἢ ὀθόνη τοῦ ἐρίου; τὸ μὲν γε πραοτάτου ζῴου ἐπέχθη καὶ σπουδαζομένου θεοῖς, οἳ μὴ ἀπαξιούσι τὸ ποιμαίνειν καί, νῆ Δί', ἡξιώσαν ποτε αὐτὸ καὶ χρυσοῦ εἰδους ἢ θεοὶ ἢ λόγοι. λίνον δὲ σπείρεται μὲν, ὡς ἔτυχε, χρυσοῦ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἀπ' ἐμψύχου ἐδρέφθη, καθαρὸν μὲν Ἰνδοῖς δοκεῖ, καθαρὸν δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ διὰ τοῦτο σχῆμα γέγονε διαλεγόμενοις εὐχομένοις θύουσι. καθαρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐννυχεύειν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὀνείρατα τοῖς, ὡς ἐγώ, διαιτωμένοις ἐτυμωτέρας τὰς αὐτῶν φήμας ἄγει.

Ἀπολογώμεθα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οὔσης ποτὲ ἡμῖν κόμης, ἐπειδὴ τις γραφὴ καὶ αὐχμοῦ εὔρηται.

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against anyone, because they buy fish for their tables at greater prices than grand seigneurs ever gave for their Corinthian chargers, and though I have never grudged anyone his purple garment nor his soft raiment and Pamphylian tissues—yet I am accused and put upon my trial, O ye gods, because I indulge in asphodel and dessert of dried fruits and pure delicacies of that kind.

(v) Nor even is my mode of dress protected from their calumnies, for the accuser is ready to steal even that off my back, because it has such vast value for wizards. And yet apart from my contention about the use of living animals and lifeless things, according as he uses one or the other of which I regard a man as impure or pure, in what way is linen better than wool? Was not the latter taken from the back of the gentlest of animals, of a creature beloved of the gods, who do not disdain themselves to be shepherds, and, by Zeus, once held the fleece to be worthy of a golden form, if it was really a god that did so, and if it be not a mere story? On the other hand linen is grown and sown anywhere, and there is no talk of gold in connection with it. Nevertheless, because it is not plucked from the back of a living animal, the Indians regard it as pure, and so do the Egyptians, and I myself and Pythagoras on this account have adopted it as our garb when we are discoursing or praying or offering sacrifice. And it is a pure substance under which to sleep of a night, for to those who live as I do dreams bring the truest of their revelations.

(vi) Let us next defend ourselves from the attack occasioned by the hair which we formerly wore, for one of the counts of the accusation turns upon

CHAP.
VII

The charge
of wearing
linen only

The charge
of wearing
long hair

CAP.
VII κρίνεται δὲ μὴ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀλλὰ τὰ ξανθὰ καὶ διεκτενισμένα μεράκια, τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἐξαψάμενα καὶ τὰς ἐταίρας, ἐφ' ἃς κωμάζει· καὶ ἑαυτὰ μὲν εὐδαίμονα ἡγείσθω καὶ ζηλωτὰ τῆς κόμης καὶ τοῦ λειβομένου ἀπ' αὐτῆς μύρου, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀναφροδισίαν πᾶσαν καὶ ἐραστὴν τοῦ μὴ ἐρᾶν. εἰρήσεται γὰρ πρὸς αὐτά· ὦ κακοδαίμονες, μὴ συκοφαντεῖτε τὸ Δωριέων εὔρεμα, τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχει, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπιτηδευθὲν αὐτοῖς, ἐς οὓς μαχιμώτατα αὐτῶν εἶχόν, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῆς Σπάρτης Λεωνίδας ἐγένετο κομῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρείας, καὶ τοῦ σεμνὸς μὲν φίλοις, φοβερὸς δὲ ἐχθροῖς φαίνεσθαι· ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη ἐπ' αὐτῷ κομᾷ μείον οὐδὲν ἢ ἐπὶ Λυκούργῳ τε καὶ Ἰφίτῳ. σοφοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς κόμης φειδέσθω σίδηρος, οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν ἐπάγειν αὐτόν, οὗ πᾶσαι μὲν αἰσθητηρίων πηγαί, πᾶσαι δ' ὁμφαί, ὅθεν εὐχαί τε ἀναφαίνονται καὶ σοφίας ἐρμηνεὺς λόγος. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μὲν γὰρ καὶ στρόφιον τῶν ἀλουργοτάτων περὶ αὐτὴν ἀρμόσας ἐσόβει περὶ τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγνιάς, ὕμνους ξυντιθείς, ὡς θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἔσοιτο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡμελημένη κόμη χρώμενος, καὶ οὐπω τοιῶνδε ὕμνων ἐπ' αὐτῇ δεηθείς, ἐς γραφὰς ἄγομαι καὶ δικαστήρια. καὶ τί φῶ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα; πότερ' ἑαυτὸν ἢ τὴν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ

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the squalor thereof. But surely the Egyptian is not
entitled to judge me for this, but rather the dandies
with their yellow and well-combed locks, who seek
by means of them to inflame the hearts of their
lovers and the mistresses of their revels. Let them
congratulate and compliment themselves upon their
locks and on the myrrh which drips from them; but
think me everything that is unattractive, and if a
lover of anything, of abstention from love. For I am
inclined to address them thus: O ye poor wretches,
do not falsely accuse an institution of the Dorians;
for the wearing of your hair long has come down
from the Lacaedemonians who affected it in the
period when they reached the height of their
military fame; and a king of Sparta, Leonidas,
wore his hair long in token of his bravery, and in
order to appear dignified to his friends, yet terrible
to his enemies. For these reasons Sparta wears her
hair long no less in his honour than in that of
Lycurgus and of Iphitus. And let every sage be
careful that the iron knife does not touch his hair,
for it is impious to apply it thereto; so far forth as
in his head are all the springs of his senses, and
all his intuitions, and it is the source from which his
prayers issue forth and also his speech, the inter-
preter of his wisdom. And whereas Empedocles
fastened a fillet of deep purple around his hair, and
walked proudly about the streets of the Hellenes,
composing hymns to prove that he had passed from
humanity and was become a god; I only wear my
hair dishevelled, and I have never needed to sing
such hymns about it, yet am hailed before the law-
courts as a criminal. And what shall I say of
Empedocles? Which had he most reason to praise,

CHAP.
VII

CAP.
VII. ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίαν ἄδειν, παρ' οἷς οὐκ ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο ταῦτα;

Μὴ πλείω διαλεγώμεθα ὑπὲρ τῆς κόμης, ἐτμήθη γὰρ καὶ προὔλαβε τὴν κατηγορίαν ὁ φθόνος, δι' ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑτέρας αἰτίας χρὴ ἀπολογεῖσθαι χαλεπῆς οὔσης, καὶ οἷας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ σοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Διὶ παρασχεῖν φόβον· φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαί με, καὶ δημοσίᾳ τοῦτ' ἐκφέρειν ἐμβρονημένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· καίτοι καὶ πρὸ τῆς αἰτίας ἐκεῖνα διδάσκειν ἔδει, τί διαλεχθεὶς ἐγώ, τί δ' οὕτω θαυμάσιον εἰπὼν ἢ πράξας ὑπηγαγόμεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσεύχεσθαί μοι· οὔτε γάρ, ἐς ὃ τι ἢ ἐξ ὅτου μετέβαλον ἢ μεταβαλεῖ μοι ἡ ψυχὴ, διελέχθην ἐν Ἑλλησίν, καίτοι γιγνώσκων, οὔτε δόξας περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τοιαύτας ἀπέστειλα, οὔτ' ἐς λόγια καὶ χρησμῶν ὥδ' ἐξῆλθον, οἷα τῶν θεοκλυτούντων φορά, οὐδ' οἶδα πόλιν οὐδεμίαν, ἐν ἣ ἔδοξε ξυνιόντας Ἀπολλωνίῳ θύειν. καίτοι πολλοῦ ἄξιός ἐκάστοις ἐγενόμην, ὅποσα ἐδέοντό μου, ἐδέοντο δὲ τοιαῦτα· μὴ νοσεῖν οἱ νοσοῦντες, ὀσιώτεροι μύειν, ὀσιώτεροι θύειν, ὕβριν ἐκτετμήσθαι, νόμους ἐρρῶσθαι. μισθὸς δ' ἐμοὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπῆρχε τὸ βελτίους αὐτοὺς αὐτῶν φαί-

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the man himself or his contemporaries for their happiness, seeing that they never levelled false accusation against him for such a reason ?

CHAP.
VII

(vii) But let us say no more about my hair, for it has been cut off, and the accusation has been forestalled by the same hatred which inspires the next count, a much more serious one from which I must now defend myself. For it is one calculated to fill not only you, my prince, but Zeus himself with apprehension. For he declares that men regard me as a god, and that those who have been thunderstruck and rendered stark-mad by myself proclaim this tenet in public. And yet before accusing me there are things which they should have informed us of, to wit, by what discourses, or by what miracles of word or deed I induced men to pray to me ; for I never talked among Hellenes of the goal and origin of my soul's past and future transformations, although I knew full well what they were ; nor did I ever disseminate such opinions about myself ; nor go about in search of presages and oracular strains, as is the instinct of candidates for divine honours. Nor do I know of a single city in which a decree was passed that the citizens should assemble and sacrifice in honour of Apollonius. And yet I have been much esteemed in the several cities which asked for my aid, whatever the objects were for which they asked it, and they were such as these : that their sick might be healed of their diseases, that both their initiations and their sacrifices might be rendered more holy, that insolence and pride might be extirpated, and the laws strengthened. And whereas the only reward which I obtained in all this was that men were made much better than they were

The charge
of Deifi-
cation of
Apollonius

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VII

νεσθαι, σοὶ δὲ ἔχαριζόμεν ταῦτα· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν βοῶν ἐπιστάται τὸ μὴ ἀτακτεῖν αὐτὰς χαρίζονται τοῖς κεκτημένοις τὰς βοῦς, καὶ οἱ τῶν ποιμνίων ἐπιμεληταὶ πιαίνουσιν αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ τῶν πεπαμένων κέρδος, νόσους τε ἀφαιροῦσι μελιττῶν οἱ νομεῖς αὐτῶν, ὥς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸ σμῆνος, οὕτω που καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ πολιτικὰ παύων ἐλαττώματα σοὶ διωρθούμην τὰς πόλεις, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ θεὸν ἡγοῦντό με, σοὶ κέρδος ἢ ἀπάτη εἶχε, ξὺν προθυμίᾳ γάρ που ἡκροῶντό μου, δεδιότες πράττειν, ἢ μὴ δοκεῖ θεῷ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτο ᾤοντο, ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ τις ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς θεὸν ξυγγένεια, δι' ἣν μόνον ζώων θεοὺς οἶδε, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὅπῃ μετέχει τοῦ θείου. φησὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτὸ θεῷ ἑοικέναι, ὥς ἀγαλματοποιία ἐρμηνεύει καὶ χρώματα, τὰς τε ἀρετὰς θεόθεν ἡκεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν πέπεισται, καὶ τοὺς μετέχοντας αὐτῶν ἀγχιθέους τε εἶναι καὶ θείους.

Διδασκάλους δὲ τῆς διανοίας ταύτης μὴ Ἀθηναίους καλῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυμπίους καὶ τὰς τοιάσδε ἐπωνυμίας πρῶτοι ἔθεντο, θειοτέρας, ὥς τὸ εἶκός, οὕσας ἢ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπῳ κείσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν ἐν τῇ Πυθοῖ· ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ Λυκοῦργος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἄρτι γεγραμμένων αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων, οἷς ἡ Λακεδαίμων τέτακται, προσειπὼν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπόλλων βασινίζει τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ χρησμοῦ

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before, they were all so many boons bestowed upon yourself by me. For as cow-herds, if they get the cows into good order earn the gratitude of their owners, and as shepherds fatten the sheep for the owner's profit, and as bee-keepers remove diseases from the hive, so that the owner may not lose his swarm, so also I myself, I think, by correcting the defects of their polities, improved the cities for your benefit. Consequently if they did regard me as a god, the deception brought profit to yourself; for I am sure they were the more ready to listen to me, because they feared to do that which a god disapproved of. But in fact they entertained no such illusion, though they were aware that there is between man and God a certain kinship which enables him alone of the animal creation to recognise the Gods, and to speculate both about his own nature and the manner in which it participates in the divine substance. Accordingly man declares that his very form resembles God, as it is interpreted by sculptors and painters; and he is persuaded that his virtues come to him from God, and that those who are endowed with such virtues are near to God and divine.

CHAP.
VII

But we need not hail the Athenians as the teachers of this opinion, because they were the first to apply to men the titles of just and Olympic beings and the like, though they are too divine, in all probability, to be applicable to man, but we must mention the Apollo in the Pythian temple as their author. For when Lycurgus from Sparta came to his temple, having just penned his code for the regulation of the affairs of Lacedaemon, Apollo addressed him, and weighed and examined the repu-

CAP. VII. φάσκων ἀπορεῖν, πότερα χρή θεὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον καλεῖν, προῖὼν δὲ ἀποφαίνεται καὶ ψηφίζεται τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην, ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἀγὼν ἤκεν, ἢ κίνδυνος ἐκ τούτων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς ἀθανατίζοντα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπέπληξε τῷ Πυθίῳ προσρηθεὶς τούτοις, ἀλλὰ ξυνετίθεντο τῷ μαντείῳ, πεπεισμένοι δὴπου καὶ πρὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ ταῦτα.

Τὰ δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ταῦτα· Ἰνδοὺς Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συκοφαντοῦσι καὶ διαβάλλουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δόξας, τὸν δὲ λόγον, ὃς ἐς τὸν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων εἴρηται, οὕτω τι ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ἐτέρους διδάξασθαι Ἰνδῶν ὄντα. ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς μὲν τῶν ὅλων γενέσεώς τε καὶ οὐσίας θεὸν δημιουργὸν οἶδε, τοῦ δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι ταῦτα αἴτιον τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ξυγγενῇ ταῦτα, ἔχομαι τοῦ λόγου καὶ φημὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεοῦ τι ἔχειν. κόσμος δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ θεῷ δημιουργῷ κείμενος τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ νομιζέσθω καὶ τὰ ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ γῇ πάντα, ὧν μετουσία ἴση ἀνθρώποις, πλὴν τύχης. ἔστι δέ τις καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κόσμος οὐχ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ σοφίας μέτρα, ὃν που καὶ αὐτός, ὧ βασιλεῦ, φήσεις ἀνδρὸς

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tation he enjoyed ; and at the commencement of his oracle the god declares that he is puzzled whether to call him a god or a man, but as he advances he decides in favour of the former appellation and assigns it to him as being a good man. And yet the Lacedaemonians never forced a lawsuit on this account upon Lycurgus, nor threatened him on the ground that he claimed to be immortal ; for he never rebuked the Pythian god for so addressing him, but on the contrary the citizens agreed with the oracle, for I believe they were already persuaded of the fact before ever it was delivered.

And the truth about the Indians and the Egyptians is the following : The Egyptians falsely accuse the Indians of several things and in particular find fault with their ideas of conduct ; but though they do so, they yet approve of the account which they have given of the creator of the Universe, and even have taught it to others, though originally it belonged to the Indians. Now this account recognises God as the creator of all things, who brought them into being and sustains them ; and it declares further that his motive in designing was his goodness. Since then these notions are kindred to one another, I carry the argument further and declare that good men have in their composition something of God. And by the universe which depends upon God the creator we must understand things in heaven and all things in the sea and on earth, which are equally open to all men to partake of, though their fortunes are not equal. But there is also a universe dependent on the good man which does not transcend the limits of wisdom, which I imagine you yourself, my prince, will allow stands

CHAP.
VII

Theology of
Apollonius

CAP.
VII

δεῖσθαι θεῷ εἰκασμένου· καὶ τί τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τοῦδε; αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀτακτοῦσαι μανικώτερον ἄπτονται παντὸς σχήματος, καὶ ἔωλοι μὲν αὐταῖς νόμοι, σωφροσύνη δ' οὐδαμοῦ, θεῶν δὲ τιμαὶ ἄτιμοι, λαλιᾶς δ' ἐρώσι καὶ τρυφῆς, ἐξ ὧν ἀργία φύεται πονηρὰ ξύμβουλος ἔργου παντός. αἱ δὲ μεθύουσαι ψυχαὶ πηδῶσι μὲν ἐπὶ πολλά, τὸ δὲ σκίρτημα τοῦτο ἴσχει οὐδέν, οὐδ' εἰ πάντα πίνοιεν, ὅποσα, ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας, ὑπνηλὰ ἐνομίσθη. ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἀνδρός, ὃς ἐπιμελήσεται τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰς κόσμου, θεὸς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἦκων. οὐτοσὶ γὰρ ἀπόχρη αὐτὰς ἐρώτων τε ἀπάγειν, ἐφ' οὓς ἀγριώτερον τῆς ξυνήθους ὁμιλίας ἐκφέρονται, καὶ φιλοχρηματίας, δι' ἣν οὐπω πᾶν ἔχειν φασίν, ἐπεὶ μὴ καὶ τὸ στόμα ὑπέχουσιν ἐπιρρέοντι τῷ πλούτῳ. φόνων γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν μὲν αὐτὰς μὴ προσάπτεσθαι οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἴσως ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ, ἀπονῆψαι δὲ οὔτε ἐμοὶ δυνατὸν οὔτε τῷ πάντων δημιουργῷ θεῷ.

Ἐστω, βασιλεῦ, κατηγορία καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐφέσου, ἐπειδὴ ἐσώθη, καὶ κρινέτω με ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ὥς ἔστι πρόσφορον τῇ γραφῇ. ἔστι γὰρ δήπου ἡ κατηγορία τοιαύτη· περὶ Σκύθας ἢ Κελτούς, οἱ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἢ Ῥῆνον οἰκοῦσι, πόλις ὥκισται μείων οὐδὲν Ἐφέσου τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ· ταύτην ὁρμη-

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in need of a man fashioned in the image of God. CHAP. VII
 And what is the fashion of this universe? There are undisciplined souls which in their madness clutch at every fashion, and they have laws which are out-of-date and vain; and there is no good sense among them, but the honours which they pay to the gods really dishonour them; and they are in love with idle chatter and luxury which breed idleness and sloth, the worst of all practical advisers. And there are other souls which are drunken and rush in all directions at once, though their antics lead to nothing, nor could do so, even if they drank all the drugs accounted, as the Mandragoras is, to be soporific. Now you need a man to administer and care for the universe of such souls, a god sent down by wisdom. For he is able to wean them from the lusts and passions, which they rush to satisfy with instincts too fierce for ordinary society, and from their avarice, which is such that they deny they have anything at all unless they can hold their mouths open and have the stream of wealth flow into it. For perhaps such a man as I speak of could even restrain them from committing murder; however, neither I myself nor even the God who created all things, can wash off them the guilt of that.

A human Saviour

(viii) Let me now, my prince, take the accusation which concerns Ephesus, since the salvation of that city was gained; and let the Egyptian be my judge, according as it bests suits his accusation. For this is the sort of thing the accusation is. Let us suppose that among the Scythians or Celts, who live along the rivers Ister and Rhine, a city has been founded every whit as important as Ephesus in Ionia. Here you have a sally-port of barbarians, who refuse

The delivery of Ephesus from plague

CAP. VII. τήριον βαρβάρων οὔσαν, οἷ μὴ ἀκροῶνταί σου, λοιμὸς μὲν τις ἀπολεῖν ἔμελλεν, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἰάσατο. ἔστι μὲν γάρ τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπολογία σοφῶ ἀνδρί, ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἀντίξοον ὅπλοις, ἀλλὰ μὴ νόσοις αἰρεῖν βούληται· μὴ γὰρ ἐξαλειφθείη πόλις μηδεμία, μήτε σοί, βασιλεῦ, μήτε ἐμοί, μήτε ἴδοιμι πρὸς ἱεροῖς νόσον, δι' ἣν οἱ νοσοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς κέσονται. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἔστω ἐν σπουδῇ τὰ βαρβάρων, μηδὲ τάττωμεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ὑγιαῖνον, πολεμιωτάτους ὄντας καὶ οὐκ ἐνσπόνδους τῷ περὶ ἡμᾶς γένει, τὴν δὲ Ἑφεσον τίς ἀφαιρήσεται τὸ σῶζεσθαι, βεβλημένην μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ γένους ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης Ἀτθίδος, ἐπιδεδωκυῖαν δὲ παρὰ πάσας, ὁπόσαι Ἰωνικαί τε καὶ Λύδιοι, προβεβηκυῖαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν διὰ τὸ ὑπερήκειν τῆς γῆς, ἐφ' ἧς ὠκίσθη, μεστὴν δὲ φροντισμάτων οὔσαν φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητορικῶν, ὑφ' ᾧν ἡ πόλις οὐχ ἵππῳ, μυριάσι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχύει, σοφίαν ἐπαινοῦσα; τίς δ' ἂν σοφὸς ἐκλιπεῖν σοι δοκεῖ τὸν ὑπὲρ πόλεως τοιαύτης ἀγῶνα, ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν Δημόκριτον ἐλευθέρωσαντα λοιμοῦ ποτε Ἀβδηρίτας, ἐννοήσας δὲ Σοφοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, ὃς λέγεται καὶ ἀνέμους θέλξαι τῆς ὥρας πέρα πνεύσαντας, ἀκηκοὼς δὲ τὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ὃς νεφέλης ἀνέσχε φορὰν ἐπ' Ἀκραγαντίνους ῥαγείσης;

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

to be subject to yourself; let us then suppose that it CHAP. VII was about to be destroyed by a pestilence, and that Apollonius found a remedy and averted it. I imagine that a wise man would be able to defend himself even against such a charge as that, unless indeed the sovereign desires to get rid of his adversaries, not by use of arms, but by plague; for I pray, my prince, that no city may ever be wholly wiped out, either to please yourself or to please me, nor may I ever behold in temples a disease to which those who lie sick should succumb in them. But granted that we are not interested in the affairs of barbarians, and need not restore them to health, since they are our bitter enemies, and not at peace with our race; yet who would desire to deprive Ephesus of her salvation, a city which took its beginnings from that purest of beings Atthis, and which grew in size beyond all other cities of Ionia and Lydia, and stretched herself out to the sea, on the promontory over which she is built, and is filled with studious people, both philosophers and rhetoricians, thanks to whom the city owes her strength, not to her cavalry, but to the tens of thousands of her inhabitants in whom she encourages wisdom? And do you think that there is any wise man who would decline to do his best in behalf of such a city, when he reflects that Democritus once liberated the people of Abdera from pestilence, and when he bears in mind the story of Sophocles of Athens, who is said to have charmed the winds when they were blowing unseasonably, and who has heard how Empedocles stayed a cloud in its course when it would have burst over the heads of the people of Acragas?

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VII

Ἐπικόπτει με ὁ κατήγορος· ἀκούεις γάρ που καὶ σύ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ φησιν, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ σωτηρίας αἷτιος Ἐφεσίοις ἐγενόμην, γράφεσθαί με, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ προεῖπον ἐμπεσεῖσθαί σφισι τὴν νόσον, τουτὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ σοφίαν εἶναι καὶ τερατῶδες, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ἐφικέσθαι με, εἰ μὴ γόης τε ἦν καὶ ἀπόρρητος. τί οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐρεῖ Σωκράτης ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔφασκε τοῦ δαιμονίου μανθάνειν; τί δὲ Θαλῆς τε καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας, τῷ Ἴωνε, ὁ μὲν τὴν εὐφορίαν τὴν τῶν ἐλαιῶν, ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν οὐρανίων παθῶν προειπόντε; ἢ γοητεύοντε προειπεῖν ταῦτα; καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπήχθησαν οὗτοι δικαστηρίοις ἐφ' ἑτέραις αἰτίαις, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τῶν αἰτιῶν εἴρηται γόητας εἶναι σφᾶς ἐπειδὴ προγιγνώσκουσι. καταγέλαστον γὰρ τοῦτο ἐδόκει, καὶ οὐδ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πιθανὸν κατ' ἀνδρῶν λέγεσθαι σοφῶν, οὐ τὰ γύναια κακῶς ἤκουεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς σελήνης ἔλξει.

Πόθεν οὖν τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον πάθους ἡσθόμην; ἤκουσας μὲν καὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου εἰπόντος, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διαιτῶμαι, κάμοι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαντοῦ σιτίων, ὡς λεπτὰ καὶ ἡδίω τῆς ἐτέρων συβάριδος, ἐν ἀρχῇ εἴρηται· τοῦτό μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐν αἰθρίᾳ τινὶ ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάττει, κοῦκ ἔῃ θολερὸν περὶ αὐτὰς οὐδὲν εἶναι, διορᾶν τε, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρου αὐγῇ, πάντα γιγνόμενά τε καὶ ἐσό-

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(ix) The accuser here interrupts me, you hear him yourself do so, my prince, and he remarks that I am not accused for having brought about the salvation of the Ephesians, but for having foretold that the plague would fall upon them; for this, he says, transcends the power of wisdom and is miraculous, so that I could never have reached such a pitch of truth if I were not a wizard and an unspeakable wretch. What then will Socrates say here of the lore which he declared he learned from his demonic genius? Or what would Thales and Anaxagoras, both Ionians, say, of whom one foretold a plenteous crop of olives, and the other not a few meteorological disturbances? That they foretold these things by dint of being wizards? Why, is it not a fact that they were brought before the law-courts upon other charges, but that no one ever heard among their accusations that of their being wizards, because they had the gift of foreknowledge? For that would have been thought ridiculous, and it would not have been a plausible charge to bring against men of wisdom even in Thessaly, where the women had a bad reputation for drawing the moon down to earth.

CHAP.
VII
The charge
of wizardry

How then did I get my sense of the coming disaster at Ephesus? You have listened to the statement made even by my accuser, that instead of living like other people, I keep to a light diet of my own, and prefer it to the luxury of others, and I began by saying so myself. This diet, my king, guards my senses in a kind of indescribable ether or clear air, and forbids them to contract any foul or turbid matter, and allows me to discern, as in the sheen of a looking-glass, everything that is happen-

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μενα. οὐ γὰρ περιμενεῖ γε ὁ σοφὸς γῆν τὴν ἀναθυμιῶσαν ἢ τὸν αἶρα διεφθορότα, ἣν τὸ δεινὸν ἄνωθεν ῥέη, ἀλλὰ ξυνήσει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ θύραι ὄντων, ὕστερον μὲν ἢ οἱ θεοί, θᾶττον δὲ ἢ οἱ πολλοί· θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ μελλόντων, ἄνθρωποι δὲ γιγνομένων, σοφοὶ δὲ προσιόντων αἰσθάνονται. λοιμῶν δ' αἰτίας ἰδίᾳ, βασιλεῦ, ἐρώτα, σοφώτεροι γὰρ ἢ ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγεσθαι· ἄρ' οὖν τὸ οὕτως διαιτᾶσθαι λεπτότητα μόνον ἐργάζεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἢ ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα τε καὶ θαυμασιώτατα; θεωρεῖν δ' ἔξεστιν, ὃ λέγω, καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλων μὲν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ κακ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ περὶ τὴν νόσον ἐκείνην πραχθέντων· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῷ δὲ γέροντι εἴκαστο, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδὼν εἶλον, οὐ παύσας νόσον, ἀλλ' ἐξελών· ὅτῳ δ' εὐξάμενος, δηλοῖ τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ὑπὲρ τούτου ἰδρυσάμην, Ἡρακλέους μὲν γὰρ Ἀποτροπαίου ἐστί, ξυνεργὸν δ' αὐτὸν εἰλόμην, ἐπειδὴ σοφός τε καὶ ἀνδρεῖος ὢν ἐκάθηρέ ποτε λοιμοῦ τὴν Ἥλιν, τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ἀποκλύσας, ἃς παρεῖχεν ἡ γῆ κατ' Αὐγέαν τυραννεύοντα.

Τίς ἂν οὖν σοι, βασιλεῦ, δοκεῖ φιλοτιμούμενος γόης φαίνεσθαι θεῷ ἀναθεῖναι, ὃ αὐτὸς εἴργαστο; τίνας δ' ἂν κτήσασθαι θαύμαστὰς τῆς

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ing or is to be. For the sage will not wait for the earth to send up its exhalations, or for the atmosphere to be corrupted, in case the evil is shed from above; but he will notice these things when they are impending, not so soon indeed as the gods, yet sooner than the many. For the gods perceive what lies in the future, and men what is going on before them, and wise men what is approaching. But I would have you, my prince, ask of me in private about the causes of pestilence; for they are secrets of a wisdom which should not be divulged to the many. Was it then my mode of living which alone develops such a subtlety and keenness of perception as can apprehend the most important and wonderful phenomena? You can ascertain the point in question, not only from other considerations, but in particular from what took place in Ephesus in connection with that plague. For the genius of the pestilence,—and it took the form of a poor old man,—I both detected, and having detected took it captive: and I did not so much stay the disease as pluck it out. And who the god was to whom I had offered my prayers is shown in the statue which I set up in Ephesus to commemorate the event; and it is a temple of the Hercules who averts disease, for I chose him to help me, because he is the wise and courageous god, who once purged of the plague the city of Elis, by washing away with the river-tide the foul exhalations which the land sent up under the tyranny of Augeas.

Who then do you think, my prince, being ambitious to be considered a wizard, would dedicate his personal achievement to a god? And whom would he get to admire his art, if he gave the credit of the miracle

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τέχνης, θεῶ παρεῖς τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι; τίς δ' ἂν Ἑρακλεῖ εὐξασθαι γόης ὦν; τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οἱ κακοδαίμονες βόθροις ἀνατιθέασι καὶ χθονίοις θεοῖς, ὦν τὸν Ἑρακλέα ἀποτακτέον, καθαρὸς γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὖνους. ἠϋξάμην αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτέ, λαμίας γάρ τι φάσμα κάκεῖ περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον ἦλυε, σιτούμενον τῶν νέων τοὺς καλοὺς· καὶ ξυνήρατό μοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος οὐ θαυμασίῳν δεηθεὶς δώρων, ἀλλὰ μελιττούτης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τι ἀνθρώπων ἐβγάσασθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέα μισθὸν τῶν ἄθλων ἡγεῖτο. μὴ ἄχθου, βασιλεῦ, τὰ Ἑρακλέους ἀκούων· ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐπειδὴ χρηστὸς καὶ σωτήριος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ κελεύεις με ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ἄκουε ἀπολογίας ἀληθοῦς· ἐγὼ γὰρ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράττων, οὐπω ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔθυσσα, οὐδ' ἂν θύσαιμι οὐδέν, οὐδ' αἰθίγοιμι ἱερῶν, ἐν οἷς αἶμα, οὐδ' ἂν εὐξαίμην ἐς μάχαιραν βλέπων ἢ θυσίαν, ἣν φησιν. οὐ Σκύθην με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἥρηκας, οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς ἀμίκτου ποθέν, οὐδ' ἐπέμιξά πω Μασσαγέταις ἢ Ταύροις, ὥς κάκείνους ἂν τοῦ τῆς θυσίας ἔθους μετέβαλον· ἀνοίας δ' ἂν ποῖ ἤλαννον, ἵνα πλεῖστα

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to God? And who would offer his prayers to Hercules, if he were a wizard? For in fact these wretches attribute such feats to the trenches they dig and to the gods of the under-earth, among whom we must not class Heracles, for he is a pure deity and kindly to men. I offered my prayer to him once on a time also in the Peloponnese, for there was an apparition of a lamia there too; and it infested the neighbourhood of Corinth and devoured good-looking young men. And Hercules lent me his aid in my contest with her, without asking of me any wonderful gifts,—nothing more than honey-cake and frankincense, and the chance to do a salutary turn to mankind; for in the case of Eurystheus also this was the only guerdon which he thought of for his labours. I would ask you, my prince, not to be displeased at my mention of Hercules; for Athene had him under her care because he was good and kind and a Saviour of man.

(x) But inasmuch as you bid me vindicate myself in the matter of the sacrifice, for I observe you beckoning with your hand for me to do so, hear my defence. It shall set the truth before you. In all my actions I have at heart the salvation of mankind, yet I have never offered a sacrifice in their behalf, nor will I ever sacrifice anything, nor touch sacraments in which there is blood, nor offer any prayer with my eyes fixed upon a knife or a sacrifice as he understands it. It is no Scythian, my prince, that you have got before you, nor a native of some savage and inhospitable land; nor did I ever mingle with Massagetæ or Taurians, for in that case I should have reformed even them and altered their sacrificial custom. But to what a depth of folly and incon-

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VII

The charge
of human
sacrifice
conducted
with Nerva

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VII. μὲν ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς διαλεγόμενος καὶ ὅπη ἔρρωται ἢ μή, ἄριστα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἡσθημένος, ὅτι τὰς αὐτῶν βουλὰς οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ μὴ μαντευομένοις φαίνουσι, μαιφονίας ἄπτωμαι καὶ σπλάγχχνων ἀθύτων ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀκαλλιερέτων; ἐφ' οἷς ἀπέλιπεν ἄν με καὶ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου ὁμφὴ μὴ καθαρὸν ὄντα.

Καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ἀφελὼν τὸ τῆς θυσίας μῦθος ἐξετάζοι τὸν κατήγορον πρὸς ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εἶρηκεν, ἀπαλλάττει με τῆς αἰτίας αὐτός· ὃν γάρ φησι προειπεῖν Ἐφεσίοις τὴν νόσον θυσίας οὐδεμιᾶς δεηθέντα, τί σφαγίων ἐδεήθην ἐφ' ἃ καὶ μὴ θυσαμένῳ παρῆν εἰδέναι; μαντικῆς δὲ τί ἐδεόμην ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτός τε ἐπεπείσμην καὶ ἕτερος; εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Νερούα καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κρίνομαι, λέξω πάλιν, ἃ καὶ πρώην εἶπον, ἡνίκα ἡτιῶ ταῦτα. Νερούαν γὰρ ἄξιον μὲν ἀρχῆς ἡγοῦμαι πάσης καὶ λόγου παντὸς ἐπ' εὐφημίαν ἦκοντος, ἀγωνιστὴν δὲ φροντίδων οὐ χρηστόν· καταλέλυσται γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου, δι' ἣν καὶ ἡ γνώμη μεστὴ ἄσης καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ οἴκοι ἱκανή· σὲ γοῦν ἐπαινεῖ μὲν σώματος, ἐπαινεῖ δὲ γνώμης, εἰκὸς μὲν οἶμαί τι πράττων, προθυμοτέρα γὰρ ὄντως ἢ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐπαινεῖν, ἃ μὴ αὐτὴ ἔρρωται.

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sequence should I have descended if, after talking so much about divination and about the conditions under which it flourishes or does not flourish, I, who understand better than anyone that the gods reveal their intentions to holy and wise men even without their possessing prophetic gifts, made myself guilty of bloodshed, by meddling with the entrails of victims, as unacceptable to myself as they are ill-omened? In that case the revelation of heaven would surely have abandoned me as impure.

However, if we drop the fact that I have a horror of any such sacrifice, and just examine the accuser in respect to the statements which he made a little earlier, he himself acquits me of this charge. For if, as he says, I could foretell to the Ephesians the impending pestilence without use of any sacrifice whatever, what need had I of slaying victims in order to discover what lay within my cognizance without offering any sacrifice at all? And what need had I of divination in order to find out things of which I myself was already assured as well as another? For if I am to be put upon my trial on account of Nerva and his companions, I shall repeat what I said to you the day before yesterday when you accused me about these matters. For I regard Nerva as a man worthy of the highest office and of all the consideration that belongs to a good name and fame, but as one ill-calculated to carry through any difficult plan; for his frame is undermined by a disease which fills his soul with bitterness, and incapacitates him even for his home affairs. As to yourself, certainly he admires your vigour of body no less than he admires your judgment; and in doing so I think he is not singular, because men are by nature more

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VII

CAP. VII. πέπονθε δέ τι καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ χρηστὸν Νερούας, καὶ οὔτε γελάσαντά πω αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ οἶδα οὔτε εὐηθισάμενόν τι τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν φίλοις, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ μειράκια πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας τε καὶ διδασκάλους τοὺς αὐτῶν, εὐλαβῶς μὲν φθέγγεται τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πᾶν, ἐρυθριᾷ δὲ ἔτι, εἰδὼς δὲ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἐπαινοῦντά με οὕτω τι ἄγαν ἐπιτηδεύει αὐτό, ὡς κάμοι ταπεινότερος τοῦ μετρίου φαίνεσθαι. πῶς οὖν πιθανὸν ἡγήσαιτο ἂν τις ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι Νερούαν, ἀγαπῶντα, εἰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίας ἄρξοι, ἢ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων διαλέγεσθαι μοι τὸν μηδ' ὑπὲρ μικρῶν τεθαρρηκότα, ἢ ξυνάπτειν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλον, εἰ τοῦμόν ἐνεθυμήθη, ξυνῆψεν; ἢ πῶς ἔτ' ἐγὼ σοφὸς γνώμην ἐρμηνεύειν ἀνδρός, μαντικῇ μὲν πιστεύων, ἀπιστῶν δὲ σοφία; τὸν δὲ Ὀρφίτον καὶ τὸν Ῥοῦφον, τοὺς δικαίους μὲν καὶ σώφρονας, νωθροὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, ὡς εὖ οἶδα, εἰ μὲν ὡς τυραννησείοντας διαβεβλήσθαι φασιν, οὐκ οἶδ' εἴτε τούτων πλέον διαμαρτάνουσιν, εἴτε Νερούα, εἰ δ' ὡς ξυμβούλω γεγονότε, πιθανώτερος ἀρχῇ ἐπιθέσθαι Νερούας, ἢ οἶδε ξυμβουλευσαι;

Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν γε ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίνοντα κακεῖνα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, τί ἐβούλετό μοι τὸ ξυλλαμ-

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prone to admire what they themselves lack the strength to do. But Nerva is also animated towards myself by feelings of respect ; and I never saw him in my presence laughing or joking as he is accustomed to do among his friends ; but like young men towards their fathers and teachers, he observes a reverence in every thing that he says in my presence, nay he even blushes ; and because he knows that I appreciate and set so high a value upon modesty, he therefore so sedulously cultivates that quality, as sometimes to appear even to me humbler than beseems him. Who then can regard it as probable that Nerva is ambitious of Empire, when he is only too glad if he can govern his own household ; or that a man who has not the nerve to discuss with me minor issues, would discuss with me the greatest of all, or would concert with me plans which, if he thought like myself, he would not even concert with others ? How again could I retain my reputation for wisdom and interpreting a man's judgment, if I believed over-much in divination, yet wholly distrusted wisdom ? As for Orphitus and Rufus, who are just and sensible men though somewhat sluggish, as I well know to be the case, if they say that they are under suspicion of aspiring to become despots, I hardly know over which they make the greater mistake, over them or over Nerva ; if however they are accused of being his accomplices, then I ask, which you would most readily believe, that Nerva was usurping the throne, or that they had conspired with him.

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VII

Orphitus
and Rufus

(xi) I must confess that there are also other points which the accuser who brings me to the bar on these accounts should have entertained and considered :

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βάνειν τοῖς ἐπὶ νεώτερα ἤκουσι· χρήματα μὲν γὰρ οὐ φησι παρ' αὐτῶν γεγενῆσθαι μοι, οὐδὲ δώροις ἐπαρθέντα με ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι· σκεψώμεθα δέ, μὴ μεγαλῶν δεόμενος, ἀνεβαλόμην τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας ἐς ὃν ὥοντο ἄρξιν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ μέγαλα μὲν ἂν αἰτεῖν ὑπῆρξε, μειζόνων δ' ἀξιούσθαι· πῶς οὖν ταῦτα ἔσται δῆλα; ἐνθυμήθητι, βασιλεῦ, σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἔτι πρὸ σοῦ ἄρχοντας, ἀδελφὸν δῆπου τὸν σεαυτοῦ καὶ πατέρα, Νέρωνά τε, ἐφ' ᾧ ἠρξαν, κατὰ τούτους γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλέας βεβίωταί μοι ἐς τὸ φανερόν, τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον Ἰνδοῖς φοιτῶντι. τούτων δὲ τῶν ὀκτῶ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ἐς σὲ μῆκος, οὔτε ἐπὶ θύρας βασιλείους ἐφοίτησα πλὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ σοῦ πατρός, ἐπεὶ μήτε βασιλεύς πω ἐτύγχανεν ὧν ὠμολόγει τε δι' ἐμὲ ἦκειν, οὔτε ἀνελεύθερόν τι διελέχθην βασιλεῦσιν ἢ ὑπὲρ βασιλέων δήμοις, οὔτ' ἐπιστολαῖς ἐλαμπρυνάμην ἢ γραφόντων ἐμοὶ βασιλέων ἢ αὐτὸς ἐνδεικνύμενος γράφειν, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ δωρεῶν κολακεύων βασιλέας ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπηνέχθην. εἰ γοῦν ἔροιό με πλουσίους ἐνθυμηθεῖς καὶ πέννητας, ποτέρου τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων ἐμαυτὸν γράφω, τῶν πλουσιωτάτων φήσω, τὸ γὰρ δεῖσθαι μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ Λυδία καὶ τὸ Πακτωλοῦ πᾶν. πῶς οὖν ἢ τὰς παρὰ τῶν οὐπω βασιλέων δωρεὰς ἀνεβαλλόμην

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What sense was there in my aiding these revolution-ists? For he does not say that I received any money from them, nor that I was tempted by presents to commit these crimes. But let us consider the point whether I might not have advanced great claims, but have deferred their recognition of them until the time came at which they expected to win the throne, when I might have demanded much and have obtained still more as my due. But how can you prove all this? Call to mind, my prince, your own reign and the reigns of your predecessors, I mean of your own brother, and of your father, and of Nero under whom they held office; for it was under these princes chiefly that I passed my life before the eyes of all, the rest of my time being spent on my visit to India. Well, of these thirty-eight years, for such is the period which has elapsed since then up to your own day, I have never come near the courts of princes, except that once in Egypt, and then it was your father's, though he was not at that time actually Emperor; and he admitted that he came there on my account. Nor have I ever uttered anything base or humiliating either to emperors, or in behalf of emperors to peoples; nor have I sought distinction through letters which princes might either write to myself or I myself ostentatiously address to them; nor have I ever demeaned myself by flattery of princes in order to win their largess. If then after due consideration of rich and poor, you should ask me in which class I register myself, I should say among the very rich, for the fact that I want nothing is worth to me all the wealth of Lydia and of Pactolus. Is it likely then that I who never would take presents from yourself whose

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Apollonius'
retrospect
of his life

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ἐς ὃν ἄρξειν αὐτοὺς ὥμην χρόνον ὁ μὴδὲ τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλόμενος, οἷς βέβαιον ἡγούμην τὸ ἄρχειν, ἢ βασιλειῶν μεταβολὰς ἐπενόουν μὴδὲ ταῖς καθεστηκυίαις ἐς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι χρώμενος; καὶ μὴν ὅποσα γίνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατούς, δηλοῖ τὰ Εὐφράτου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν τί λέγω χρήματα; πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι πλούτου, καὶ πὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἤδη διαλέγεται κάπηλος, ὑποκάπηλος, τελώνης, ὀβολοστάτης, πάντα γιγνόμενος τὰ πωλούμενά τε καὶ πωλοῦντα, ἐντετύπωται δ' αἰὲν ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν θύραις καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλείῳ καιρὸν ἢ οἱ θυρωροί, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ θυρωρῶν πολλάκις, ὥσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λίχνοι, δραχμὴν δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ προέμενός ποτε, ἐπιτεχνίζει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλούτον, ἑτέροις τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τουτονὶ βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ ὀξύνων ἐπ' ἐμὲ γλῶτταν ἀξίαν ἐκτετμήσθαι.

Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλείπω σοί, σὺ γάρ, ἦν μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινῆς, εὐρήσεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον κακίῳ ὦν ἐρμηνεύω, τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἀπολογίας ἀκροῶ· τίς οὖν αὕτη καὶ ὑπὲρ τίνων; ἥδετό τις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παιδὸς Ἀρκάδος ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ θρῆνος, τετμήσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νύκτωρ, εἰ δ' ὄναρ φησὶν, οὐπω οἶδα, εἶναι δὲ πατέρων τε ἀγαθῶν ὁ

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throne I regarded as perfectly secure, should either have gone cadging to mere pretenders, and have deferred the receipt of my recompense from them until such time as I thought would find them emperors; or that I should plan a change of dynasty, who never once, for purposes of my advancement, resorted to that which was already established? And yet if you want to know how much a philosopher may obtain by flattery of the mighty, you have only got to look at the case of Euphrates. For why do I speak of his having got mere money out of them? Why, he has perfect fountains of wealth, and already at the banks he discusses prices as a merchant might, or a huckster, a tax-gatherer, a low money-changer, for all these rôles are his if there is anything to buy or sell; and he clings like a limpet to the doors of the mighty, and you see him standing at them more regularly than any doorkeeper, indeed he often outstays the doorkeepers, just as greedy dogs would do; but he never yet bestowed a farthing upon any philosopher, but he walls up all his wealth within his own house, only supporting this Egyptian out of the money of others, and whetting against me a tongue which ought to have been cut out.

(xii) However I will leave Euphrates to yourself; for unless you approve of flatterers you will find the fellow worse than I depict him; and I only ask you to listen to the rest of my apology. What then is it to be, and from what counts is it to defend me? In the act of accusation, my prince, a regular dirge is chanted over an Arcadian boy, whom I am accused of having cut up by night, perhaps in a dream, for I am sure I do not know. This child is said to be of respectable parentage and to have possessed all the

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Greedy of
Euphrates

The sacrifice of an
Arcadian
boy

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παῖς οὗτος καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἶοι Ἀρκάδων οἱ ἐν αὐχμῷ καλοί. τοῦτόν φασιν ἰκετεύοντά τε καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενον ἀπὲσφάχθαι, καὶ μὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αἷμα βάψαντα θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας εὔχεσθαι. μέχρι τούτων ἐμὲ κρίνουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἐφεξῆς λόγος τῶν θεῶν ἄπτεται, φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀκοῦσαι μὲν ὧδέ μου εὐξαμένου, δοῦναι δὲ ἱερὰ εὔσημα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀσεβοῦντα. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀκρόασιν, ὡς οὐ καθαρὰ, τί ἄν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λέγοιμι;

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν γέ μοι ἀπολογητέα, τίς ὁ Ἀρκὰς οὗτος; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀνώνυμος τὰ πατέρων, μηδ' ἀνδραποδώδης τὸ εἶδος, ὥρα σοι ἐρωτᾶν, τί μὲν ὄνομα τοῖς γειναμένοις αὐτόν, τίνος δὲ οἰκίας οὗτος, τίς δ' ἐθρέψατο αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλις, τίνων δὲ βωμῶν ἀπαχθεὶς ἐνταῦθα ἐθύετο. οὐ λέγει ταῦτα καίτοι δεινὸς ὢν μὴ ἀληθεύειν. οὐκ οὖν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραπόδου κρίνει με. ὧ γὰρ μήτ' αὐτῷ ὄνομα μήθ' ὧν ἔφυ, μὴ πόλις μὴ κληρὸς ἐστίν, οὐχί, ὦ θεοί, τοῦτον ἐν ἀνδραπόδοις χρή τάττειν; ἀνώνυμα γὰρ πάντα. τίς οὖν ὁ κάπηλος τοῦ ἀνδραπόδου; τίς ὁ πριάμενος αὐτὸ ἐξ Ἀρκάδων; εἰ γὰρ τὸ γένος τούτων ἐπιτήδειον τῇ σφαττούσῃ μαντικῇ, πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων εἰκὸς ἐωνῆσθαι τὸν παῖδα, πεπλευκέναι δέ τινα ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ἵν' ἐνθένδε ἡμῖν ἀναχθείη ὁ Ἀρκὰς· ἀνδράποδα μὲν

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good-looks which Arcadians wear even in the midst of squalor. They pretend that I massacred him in spite of his entreaties and lamentations, and that after thus imbuing my hands in the blood of this child I prayed the gods to reveal the truth to me. So far they only attack myself in their charges, but what follows is a direct assault upon the gods; for they assert that the gods heard my prayers under such circumstances, and vouchsafed to me victims of good omen, instead of slaying me for my impiety. Need I say, O my prince, it is defiling even to listen to such stuff?

But to confine my pleadings to the counts which affect myself, I would ask who is this Arcadian? For since he was not of nameless parentage, and by no means slave-like in appearance, it is time for you to ask what was the name of those who begot him and of what family he was, and what city in Arcadia had the honour of rearing him, and from what altars he was dragged away in order to be sacrificed here. My accuser does not supply this information, in spite of his ingenuity in the art of lying. Let us then suppose it was only a slave in whose behalf he accuses me. For by heaven, we surely must class among slaves one who had neither name of his own, nor parentage, nor city, nor inheritance? For slaves have no proper names of their own. In that case who was the slave-merchant who sold him? Who was it that bought him from Arcadians? For if this breed is specially suitable for the butchering kind of diviners, he must surely have purchased the boy for much money. And some messenger must have sailed straight to the Peloponnese in order to fetch this Arcadian and conduct him to us. For though one can buy here on the spot slaves from Pontus or

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CAP. VII. γὰρ Ποιτικὰ ἢ Λύδια ἢ ἐκ Φρυγῶν πρίαιτ' ἂν κιν-
ταῦθά τις, ὧν γε καὶ ἀγέλαις ἐντυχεῖν ἐστὶν ἅμα
φοιτώσαις δεῦρο, ταυτὶ γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ὁπόσα
βαρβάρων, πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐτέρων ἀκροώμενοι
οὐπω τὸ δουλεύειν αἰσχροὺς ἡγοῦνται. Φρυξὶ γοῦν
ἐπιχώριον καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀνδραποδισθέντων μὴ ἐπιστρέφειν, "Ελληνες
δὲ ἐλευθερίας ἐρασταὶ ἔτι, καὶ οὐδὲ δούλων
ἀνὴρ "Ελλην πέρα ὄρων ἀποδώσεται, ὅθεν οὐδὲ
ἀνδραποδισταῖς οὔτε ἀνδραπόδων καπήλοις ἐς
αὐτοὺς παριτητέα, ἐς δὲ Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ μᾶλλον,
πρὸς γὰρ τῷ παρὰ πάντας ἐλευθεριάζειν "Ελ-
ληνας δέονται καὶ ὄχλου δούλων. ἔστι δὲ
πολυλήιος καὶ ποώδης ἡ Ἀρκαδία καὶ ὑλώδης
οὐ τὰ μετέωρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ
πάντα. δεῖ δὴ αὐτοῖς πολλῶν μὲν γεωργῶν,
πολλῶν δὲ αἰπόλων συφορβῶν τε καὶ ποιμένων
καὶ βουκόλων, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ βουσί, τῶν δ' ἐφ'
ἵπποις, δρυτόμων τε δεῖται πολλῶν ἢ χώρα καὶ
τοῦτο ἐκ παίδων γυμνάζονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ
τοιιάδε ἦν τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἀλλ' εἶχον, ὥσπερ
ἕτεροι, προσαποδίδοσθαι τοὺς αὐτῶν δούλους, τι τῇ
θρυλουμένη σοφίᾳ ξυνεβάλλετο τὸ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας
εἶναι τὸν σφαττόμενον ; οὐδὲ γὰρ σοφώτατοι τῶν
Ἑλλήνων Ἀρκάδες, ἴν' ἐτέρου τι ἀνθρώπου πλέον
περὶ τὰ λογικὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων φαίνωσιν, ἀλλὰ
ἀγροικότατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ συνώδεις τά
τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ γαστρίζεσθαι τῶν δρυῶν.

Ῥητορικώτερον ἴσως ἀπολελόγηται τοῦμοῦ

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Lydia or Phrygia,—for indeed you can meet whole CHAP.
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droves of them being conducted hither, since these like other barbarous races have always been subject to foreign masters, and as yet see nothing disgraceful in servitude; anyhow with the Phrygians it is a fashion even to sell their children, and once they are enslaved, they never think any more about them,—yet the Hellenes retain their love of liberty, and no man of Hellas will ever sell a slave out of his country; for which reason kidnappers and slave-dealers never resort thither, least of all to Arcadia; for in addition to the fact that they are beyond all other Hellenes jealous of liberty, they also require a great number of slaves themselves. For Arcadia contains a vast expanse of grass land and of timber, which covers not only the highlands, but all the plains as well. Consequently they require a great many labourers, many goat-herds and swine-herds, and shepherds and drivers either for the oxen or for the horses; and there is much need in the land of wood-cutters, a craft to which they are trained from boyhood. And even if the land of Arcadia were not such as I have described, so that they could in addition afford like other nations to sell their own slaves abroad, what advantage could the wisdom the accuser babbles of derive by getting a child from Arcadia to murder and cut up? For the Arcadians are not so much wiser than other Hellenes, that their entrails should convey more information than those of other people. On the contrary they are the most boorish of men, and resemble hogs in other ways and especially in this that they can stomach acorns.

It is possible that I have conducted my defence on more rhetorical lines than is my custom, in thus

CAP. VII. τρόπον, τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀφερμηνεύων ἦθη καὶ
 παριῶν ἐς Πελοπόννησον τῷ λόγῳ. ἡ γὰρ ἐμοὶ
 προσήκουσα ἀπολογία τίς ; οὐκ ἔθυσα, οὐ θύω,
 οὐ θιγγάνω αἵματος, οὐδ' εἰ βώμιον αὐτὸ εἶη,
 Πυθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὧδε ἐγίγνωσκειν οἷ τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
 παραπλησίως, καὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ
 Ἰνδῶν οἱ σοφοί, παρ' ὧν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν αἰ
 τῆς σοφίας ἀρχαὶ ἐφοίτησαν. κατὰ ταῦτα θύοντες
 οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ γηράσκειν τε
 αὐτοῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν ἀρτίοις τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀνό-
 σοις, καὶ σοφωτέροις αἰεὶ δοκεῖν, μὴ τυράννευέσθαι,
 μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός, οἶμαι, ἀγαθῶν
 δεῖσθαι σφᾶς ὑπὲρ καθαρῶν θυμάτων. δοκῶ γάρ
 μοι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐμοὶ νοῦν ὑπὲρ
 θυσιῶν ἔχοντας, τὰ λιβανοφόρα τῆς γῆς ἐν καθαρῷ
 τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκφυτεύειν, ἵν' ἀπ' αὐτῶν θύοιμεν,
 μὴ σιδηροφοροῦντες ἐν ἱεροῖς, μηδ' αἷμα ἐς βωμοὺς
 ραίνοντες. ἐγὼ δ', ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν
 ἐκλαθόμενος ἔθουν τρόπον, ὃν μήτ' αὐτὸς εἶωθα
 μήτε τις ἀνθρώπων θύοι.

Ἀπαλλαττέτω με τῆς αἰτίας καὶ ὁ καιρός, ὃν
 εἶρηκεν ὁ κατήγορος· τὴν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἐκείνην,
 ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι μοί φησιν, εἰ μὲν ἐγενόμην
 ἐν ἀγρῷ, ἔθυσα, εἰ δὲ ἔθυσα, καὶ ἔφαγον. εἰτά
 με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, θαμινὰ ἐρωτᾷς, εἰ μὴ ἐπεχω-
 ρίαζον τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ; καὶ σύ, βέλτιστε βασι-
 λέων, ἐπεχωρίαζες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις θύσαι

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characterising the habits of the Arcadians and digressing into the Peloponnese. What however is my right line of defence? This I think : I never sacrificed blood, I do not sacrifice it now, I never touch it, not even if it be shed upon an altar ; for this was the rule of Pythagoras and likewise of his disciples, and in Egypt also of the Naked sages, and of the sages of India, from whom these principles of wisdom were derived by Pythagoras and his school. In adhering to this way of sacrifice they do not seem to the gods to be criminal ; for the latter suffer them to grow old, sound in body and free from disease, and to increase in wisdom daily, to be free from tyranny of others, to be wanting in nothing. Nor do I think it is unlikely that the gods have need of good men in order to offer them pure sacrifices. For I believe that the gods have the same mind as myself in the matter of sacrifice, and that they therefore place those parts of the earth which grow frankincense in the purest region of the world, in order that we may use their resources for purposes of sacrifice without drawing the knife in their temples or shedding blood upon altars. And yet, it appears, I so far forgot myself and the gods as to sacrifice with rites which are not only unusual with myself, but which no human being would employ.

(xiii) Let me add that the very hour which my accuser alleges acquits me of this charge. For on that day, the day on which he says I committed this crime, I allow that, if I was in the country, I offered sacrifice, and that if I sacrificed, then I ate of the victim. And yet, my prince, you repeatedly ask me if I was not staying at Rome at that time ? And you too, O best of princes, were staying there ; and

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Condemna-
tion of
blood
offerings

Apollonius
pleads an
alibi

CAP. VII. τοιαῦτα· καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμολογήσει
τὰ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων πράττειν, εἰ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην
διητᾶτο, καὶ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων, ἃς βέλτιον
ξενηλατεῖν ἢ ὑπάγειν γραφαῖς, ἐν αἷς τεκμήριον
ἀδικημάτων ἔσται τὸ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. καίτοι τὸ ἐς
τὴν Ῥώμην ἦκειν καὶ παραιτεῖται τάχα τῆς τοῦ
νεώτερα πράττειν δοκεῖν αἰτίας· τὸ γὰρ ἐν πόλει
ζῆν, ἐν ᾗ πάντες μὲν ὀφθαλμοί, πᾶσα δὲ ἀκρόασις
ὄντων τε καὶ οὐκ ὄντων, οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ νεωτέρων
ἄπτεσθαι τοῖς γε μὴ λίαν θανατῶσι, τοὺς δ'
εὐλαβεστέρους τε καὶ σώφρονας βραδέως ἄγει καὶ
ἐφ' ᾧ ἔξεστι.

Τί οὖν, ὦ συκοφάντα, κατὰ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην
ἔπραττον; εἰ μὲν ὥς σεαυτὸν ἐρωτᾷς, ἐπειδὴ
καὶ σὺ ἐρωτᾶν ἦκεις, ἀγῶνας ἡτοίμαζον καὶ
κατηγορίας ἐπ' ἄνδρας χρηστούς, καὶ ἀπολέσαι
τοὺς οὐκ ἀδικοῦντας καὶ πείσαι τὸν βασιλέα
μὴ ἀλήθῃ λέγων, ἵν' ἐγὼ μὲν εὐδοκιμοίην, μισ-
νοῖτο δὲ οὗτος, εἰ δ' ὥς φιλοσόφου πυνθάνῃ, τὸν
Δημοκρίτου ἐπῆνουν γέλωτα, ὃν ἐς πάντα τὰ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων γελᾷ, εἰ δ' ὥς ἐμοῦ, Φιλίσκος ὁ
Μηλιεὺς ἐτῶν ξυμφιλοσοφήσας ἐμοὶ τεττάρων,
ἐνόσει τότε, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀπεκάθευδον οὕτω

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yet you would not on that account admit you offered such a sacrifice ; and my false accuser was there likewise, but he will not own on that account that he committed murder, just because he was living in Rome. And the same is the case of thousands of people, whom you would do better to expel as strangers, than expose to acts of accusation, if in these the mere fact of their having been in Rome is to be held to be a proof of their guilt. On the other hand, the fact of my coming to Rome is in itself a disproof of the charge of revolutionary plotting ; for to live in a city, where there are so many eyes to see and so many ears to hear things which are and which are not, is a serious handicap for anyone who desires to play at revolution, unless he be wholly intent upon his own death. On the contrary it prompts prudent and sensible people to walk slowly even when engaged in wholly permissible pursuits.

(xiv) What then, O sycophant, was I really doing on that night ? Suppose I were yourself and was being asked this question, inasmuch as you are come to ask questions, why then the answer would be this : I was trumping up actions and accusations against decent and respectable people, and I was trying to ruin the innocent, and to persuade the Emperor by dint of hard lying, in order that while I myself climbed to fame, I might soil him with the blood of my victims. If again you ask me as a philosopher, I was praising the laughter with which Democritus laughed at all human affairs. But if you ask me as being myself, here is my answer : Philiscus of Melos, who was my fellow-pupil in philosophy for four years, was ill at the time ; and

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

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VII

διακειμένῳ χαλεπῶς, ὥς καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου. καίτοι πολλὰς ἂν ἠϋξάμην ἰυγγας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς γενέσθαι μοι, καί, νῆ Δί', εἴ τινες Ὀρφέως εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων μελωδίαι, μῆδ' ἐκείνας ἀγνοῆσαί, καὶ γὰρ ἂν μοι δοκῶ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν πορευθῆναι δι' αὐτόν, εἰ ἐφικτὰ ἦν ταῦτα· οὕτω με ἀνήρτητο πᾶσιν οἷς φιλοσόφως τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν ἔπραττε.

Ταῦτ' ἔστι μὲν σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ Τελεσίνου ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ ὑπάτου, παρῆν γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῷ Μηλιεῖ, θεραπεύων αὐτὸν νύκτωρ, ὅποσα ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ Τελεσίῳ ἀπιστεῖς, ἐπειδὴ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐστί, καλῶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μάρτυρας, εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι, Σέλευκός τε ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Σιδώνιος· τούτους ἐρώτα, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω· καὶ μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριάκοντα εἶποντο, τῶν αὐτῶν δήπου μάρτυρες· τὸ γὰρ προκαλεῖσθαι δεῦρο τοὺς τῷ Φιλίσκῳ προσήκοντας ἀναβολὰς ἴσως ἡγήσῃ τῆς δίκης, ἐπειδὴ αὐτίκα τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆραν ἐς τὰ Μηλιέων ἥθη κατὰ ὁσίαν τοῦ νεκροῦ. ἴτε, ὦ μάρτυρες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρήγγελλται ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τούτου· ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. παρ' ὅσον μὲν τοίνυν τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ γραφὴ ξυνετέθη, δηλοῖ σαφῶς ἡ μαρτυρία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἐν προαστείοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει, οὐκ ἔξω

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

I was sleeping out at his house, because he was suffering so terribly that he died of his disease. Ah, many are the charms I would have prayed to obtain, if they could have saved his life. Fain would I have known of any melodies of Orpheus, if any there are, to bring back the dead to us. Nay I verily think I would have made a pilgrimage even to the nether world for his sake, if such things were feasible; so deeply attached was I to him by all his conduct, so worthy of a philosopher and so much in accord with my own ideals.

CHAP.

VII

He was present at Philiscus' deathbed

Here are facts, my prince, which you may learn also from Telesinus the consul; for he too was at the bedside of the man of Melos, and nursed him by night like myself. But if you do not believe Telesinus, because he is of the number of philosophers, I call upon the physicians to bear me witness, and they were the following: Seleucus of Cyzicus and Stratocles of Sidon. Ask them whether I tell the truth. And what is more, they had with them over thirty of their disciples, who are ready, I believe, to witness to the same fact; for if I were to summon hither the relatives of Philiscus, you might probably think that I was trying to interpose delays in the case; for they have lately sailed from Rome to the Melian country in order to pay their last sad respects to the dead. Come forward, O ye witnesses, for you have been expressly summoned to give your testimony upon this point."

(The witnesses give their evidence.)

"With how little regard then for the truth this accusation has been drawn up, is clearly proved by the testimony of these gentlemen; for it appears that it was not in the suburbs, but in the city, not

CAP. VII. τείχους, ἀλλ' ἐπ' οἰκίας, οὐδὲ παρὰ Νερούα, παρὰ Φιλίσκῳ δέ, οὐδὲ ἀποσφάττων ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς εὐχόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας, οὐδ' ἀντὶ σοῦ χειροτονῶν νεώτερον, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα σώζων ἐμαντῶ ὅμοιον.

Τί οὖν ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἐνταῦθα; τί δ' οἱ τῶν σφαγίων μῦθοι; τί δὲ τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα πείθειν; ἔσται γάρ ποτε καὶ ὁ μὴ γέγονεν, ἂν ὥς γεγονὸς κριθῇ· τὸ δ' ἀπίθανον τῆς θυσίας, ὧ βασιλεῦ, ποῖ τάξεις; ἐγένοντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον σφαγίων μάντις ἀγαθοὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ οἶοι ὀνομάσαι, Μεγιστίας ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκ Λυκίας, Ἀμπρακία δὲ Σιλανὸν ἤνεγκε, καὶ ἐθύοντο ὁ μὲν Ἀκαρνὰν Λεωνίδα βασιλεῖ Σπάρτης, ὁ δὲ Λύκιος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, Σιλανὸς δὲ Κύρῳ βασιλείας ἐρῶντι, καὶ εἴ τι ἐν ἀνθρώπου σπλάγχνοις ἢ σαφέστερον ἢ σοφώτερον ἢ ἐτυμώτερον ἀπέκειτο, οὐκ ἄπορος ἦν ἡ θυσία, βασιλέων γε προῖσταμένων αὐτῆς, οἷς πολλοὶ μὲν ἦσαν οἶνοχόοι, πολλὰ δ' αἰχμάλωτα, παρανομίαι δ' ἀκίνδυνοι καὶ φόβος οὐδεὶς κατηγορίας, εἴ τι ἔσφαττον· ἀλλ', οἶμαι, παρίστατο τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὃ καὶ νῦν κινδυνεύοντι ὑπὲρ τοιούτων, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλογα τῶν ζώων εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ θανάτου σφάττεται, μὴ θολοῦσθαί τι τῶν σπλάγ-

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

outside the wall, but inside a house, not with Nerva, CHAP. VII
but with Philiscus, not slaying another, but praying
for a man's life, not thinking of matters of State, but
of philosophy, not choosing a revolutionist to sup-
plant yourself, but trying to save a man like myself.

(xv) What then is the Arcadian doing in this
case? What becomes of the absurd stories of
victims slain? What is the use of urging you to
believe such lies? For what never took place will
be real, if you decide that it did take place. And
how, my prince, are you to rate the improb-
ability of the sacrifice? For of course there have
been long ago soothsayers skilled in the art of
examining slain victims, for example I can name
Megistias of Acarnania, Aristandrus of Lycia, and
Silanus who was a native of Ambracia, and of these
the Acarnanian was sacrificer to Leonidas the king of
Sparta, and the Lycian to Alexander of Macedon,
and Silanus to Cyrus the Pretender; and supposing
there had been found stored in the entrails of a
human being some information truer or more
profound or surer than usual, such a sacrifice was
not difficult to effect; inasmuch as there were kings
to preside over it, who had plenty of cup-bearers at
their disposal, besides plenty of prisoners of war as
victims; and moreover these monarchs could violate
the law with impunity, and they had no fear of
being accused, in case they committed so small
a murder. But I believe, these persons had the
same conviction which I also entertain, who am now
in risk of my life because of such accusation, namely
that the entrails of animals which we slay while
they are ignorant of death, are for that reason, and
just because the animals lack all understanding of

Human
sacrifices
and victims

CAP.
VII. χνων ὑπὸ ἀξυνεσίας ὧν πείσονται· ἄνθρωπον
δὲ αἰεὶ τι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντα θανάτου καὶ
μήπω ἐφεστηκότος δαίμα, πῶς εἰκὸς παρόντος
ἤδη καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντος, δείξαί τι ἐπὶ τῶν
σπλάγχχνων μαντικὸν ἢ ὅλως εὖθυτον ;

“Οτι δὲ ὀρθῶς τε καὶ κατὰ φύσιν στοχάζομαι
τούτων, σκόπει, βασιλεῦ, ὧδε· τὸ ἥπαρ, ἐν ᾧ φασι
τὸν τῆς αὐτῶν μαντικῆς εἶναι τρίποδα οἱ δεινοὶ
ταῦτα, ξύγκειται μὲν οὐ καθαροῦ αἵματος, πᾶν
γάρ, ὃ τι ἀκραιφνές, καρδία ἴσχει, δι’ αἵμα-
τηρῶν φλεβῶν ἀποχετεύουσα ἐς πᾶν τὸ σῶμα,
χολὴν δ’ ἐπὶ ἥπατι κειμένην ὀργὴ μὲν ἀνίστησι,
φόβοι δὲ ὑπάγουσιν ἐς τὰ κοῖλα τοῦ ἥπατος. ὑπὸ
μὲν δὴ τῶν παροξυνόντων ζέουσα, καὶ μηδὲ τῷ
ἑαυτῆς ἀγγεῖω φορητὸς οὔσα, ὑπτίῳ ἐπιχεῖται τῷ
ἥπατι, καθ’ ὃ ἐπέχει χολὴ πᾶσα τὰ λεία τε καὶ
μαντικὰ τοῦ σπλάγχχνου, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν δειματούντων
ξυσιζάνουσα ξυνεπισπᾶται καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς λείοις
φῶς, ὑπονοστεῖ γὰρ τότε καὶ τὸ καθαρόν τοῦ
αἵματος, ὑφ’ οὗ σπληνοῦται τὸ ἥπαρ, ὑποτρέ-
χοντος φύσει τὸν περὶ αὐτὸ ὑμένα καὶ τῷ πηλώδει
ἐπιπολάζοντος. τί οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς μαιφονίας

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

what they are about to suffer, free from disturbance. CHAP.
VII
A human being however has constantly in his soul the apprehension of death, even when it does not as yet impend ; how therefore is it likely that when death is already present and stares him in the face, he should be able to give any intimation of the future through his entrails, or be a proper subject for sacrifice at all ?

In proof that my conjecture is right and consonant with nature, I would ask you, my prince, to consider the following points. The liver, in which adepts at this art declare the tripod of their divination to reside, is on the one hand not composed of pure blood, for all unmixed blood is retained by the heart which through the blood-vessels sends it flowing as if through canals over the entire body ; the bile on the other hand lies over the liver, and whereas it is excited by anger, it is on the other hand driven back by fear into the cavities of the liver. Accordingly if, on the one hand, it is caused to effervesce by irritants, and ceases to be able to contain itself in its own receptacle, it overflows the liver which underlies it, in which case the mass of bile occupies the smooth and prophetic parts of the bowels ; on the other hand, under the influence of fear and panic it subsides, and draws together into itself all the light which resides in the smooth parts ; for in such cases even that pure element in the blood recedes to which the liver owes its spleen-like look and distension, because the blood in question by its nature drains away under the membrane which encloses the entrails and floats upon the muddy surface. Of what use then, my

Why useless for purposes of divination

CAP.
VII

ἔργον, εἰ ἄσσημα τὰ ἱερὰ ἔσται ; ἄσσημα δ' αὐτὰ ἢ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐργάζεται ξυνιείσα τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀποθνήσκοντες, οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐψυχοὶ ξὺν ὀργῇ τελευτῶσιν, οἱ δ' ἀθυμότεροι ξὺν δέει. ἔνθεν ἢ τέχνη παρὰ τοῖς οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσι βαρβάροις χιμαῖρας μὲν καὶ ἄρνας ἐπαινεῖ σφάττειν, ἐπειδὴ εὐήθη τὰ ζῶα καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀναισθήτων, ἁλεκτρύονας δὲ καὶ σὺς καὶ ταύρους, ἐπειδὴ θυμοειδῇ ταῦτα, οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἀπορρήτων. ξυνίημι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παροξύνων τὸν κατήγορον, ἐπειδὴ σοφώτερόν σε ἀκροατὴν εἶργασμαι, καί μοι δοκεῖς καὶ προσέχειν τῷ λόγῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ σαφῶς τι αὐτοῦ φράζοιμι, ξυγχωρῶ σοι ἐρωτᾶν με.

εἴρηταί μοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου γραφήν· ἐπεὶ δ', οἶμαι, χρὴ μὴδὲ τὰς Εὐφράτου διαβολὰς ὑπερορᾶσθαι, σύ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δικάζεις, ὁπότερος ἡμῶν φιλοσοφεῖ μᾶλλον· οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀγωνίζεται μὴ τὰ ληθῇ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ, καὶ ὁ μὲν σε ἡγεῖται δεσπότην, ἐγὼ δ' ἄρχοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν ξίφος ἐπ' ἐμέ σοι δίδωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον.

Ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν γε διαβέβληκεν, οἱ λόγοι εἰσίν, οὓς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ εἶπον, φησὶ δ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐς τὸ σοὶ ξυμφέρον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρῇσθαι. καίτοι τὰ

prince, is it to slay a human victim, if the sacrifice is going to furnish no presage? And human nature does render such rites useless for purposes of divination, because it has a sense of impending death; and dying men themselves meet their end, if with courage, then also with anger, and, if with despondency, then also with fear. And for this reason the art of divination, except in the case of the most ignorant savages, while recommending the slaying of kids and lambs, because these animals are silly and not far removed from being insensible, does not consider cocks and pigs and bulls worthy vehicles of its mysteries, because these creatures have too much spirit. I realise, my prince, that my accuser chafes at my discourse, because I find so intelligent a listener in yourself, for indeed you seem to me to give your attention to my discourse; and if I have not clearly enough explained any point in it, I will allow you to ask me any questions about it.

CHAP.
VII

(xvi) I have then answered this Egyptian's act of accusation; but since I do not think I ought altogether to pass by the slanders of Euphrates, I would ask you, my prince, to be judge between us, and decide which of us is more of a philosopher. Well then, whereas he strains every nerve to tell lies about myself, I disdain to do the like about him; and whereas he looks upon you as a despot, I regard you as a constitutional ruler; and while he puts the sword into your hand for use against me, I merely supply you with argument.

Against
Euphrates

But he makes the basis of his accusation the discourses which I delivered in Ionia, and he says that they contain matter much to your disadvantage. And yet what I said concerned the topic of the

The charge
of disloyal
discourse
in Ionia

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. μὲν λεχθέντα ἦν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, παράδειγμα δ' ἐγίγνετό μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ τῶν βασιλέων πράγματα, ἐπειδὴ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπείων δοκεῖ τὰ ὑμέτερα, Μοιρῶν τε ἰσχὺν ἐφιλοσόφουν καὶ τὸ οὕτως ἄτρεπτα εἶναι, ἃ κλώθουσιν, ὥς, εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαιντο ἐτέρῳ δὴ ὑπάρχουσαν, ὁ δ' ἀποκτείνει τοῦτον, ὥς μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, καὶ ἀναβιοίῃ ὁ ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς Μοίραις. τὰς γὰρ ὑπερβολὰς τῶν λόγων ἐσαγόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τοῖς πιθανοῖς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τοιόνδε ἔλεγον· ὅτῳ πέπρωται γενέσθαι τεκτονικῷ, οὗτος, καὶ ἀποκοπῇ τῷ χεῖρε, τεκτονικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτῳ νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμον ἄρασθαι, οὗτος, οὐδ' εἰ πηρωθείη τὸ σκέλος, ἀμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτῳ ἔνευσαν Μοῖραι τὸ ἐν τοξείᾳ κράτος, οὗτος, οὐδ' εἰ ἀποβάλοι τὰς ὄψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ σκοποῦ. τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δήπου ὁρῶν καὶ τοὺς Λαίους Ἀστυάγῃ τε τὸν Μῆδον καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους, εὖ τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ δόξαντας, ὧν οἱ μὲν παῖδας, οἱ δὲ ἐγγόνους ἀποκτείνειν οἰηθέντες, ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύντων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ξὺν τῷ πεπρωμένῳ. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάπων κολακευτικήν, εἶπον ἂν καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείληψο μὲν ὑπὸ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Fates and of Necessity, and I only used as an example of my argument the affairs of kings, because your rank is thought to be the highest of human ranks; and I dwelled upon the influence of the Fates, and argued that the threads which they spin are so unchangeable, that, even if they decreed to someone a kingdom which at the moment belonged to another, and even if that other slew the man of destiny, to save himself from ever being deprived by him of his throne, nevertheless the dead man would come to life again in order to fulfil the decree of the Fates. For we employ hyperbole in our arguments in order to convince those who will not believe in what is probable, and it is just as if I had used such an example as this: He who is destined to become a carpenter, will become one even if his hands have been cut off: and he who has been destined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games, will not fail to win even if he broke his leg: and a man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer, will not miss the mark, even though he lost his eyesight. And in drawing my examples from Royalty I had reference I believe to the Acrisii and to the house of Laius, and to Astyages the Mede, and to many other monarchs who thought that they were well-established in their kingdoms, and of whom some slew their own children as they imagined and others their descendants, and yet were subsequently deprived by them of their thrones when they issued forth from obscurity in accordance with the decrees of fate. Well, if I were inclined to flattery, I should have said that I had your own history in my mind, when you were

CHAP.
VII

CAP
VII

Βιτελίου ἐνταῦθα, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς τοῦ ἄστρος, ὁ δ' εὖ κείσεσθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοις αὐτόν—καίτοι μειράκιον ἱκανῶς ἦσθα καὶ οὐπω οὗτος—ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ Μοίραις ἐδόκει ἕτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπώλετο αὐταῖς βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τὰ κείνου νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἁρμονία κλακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τῶν ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγων εἶναι, τεμνέσθω μοι ἥδε ἡ νευρά, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἐντεθymῆσθαί με, ἀλλὰ διειλέχθαι μόνα τὰ ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ταυτὶ γάρ φησιν εἰρήσθαι μοι ἐπὶ σέ. καίτοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἀνέχονται μὲν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὐκ ἄχθεται δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀκούων καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν τοῖς Λυκίοις λόγοις

ὥ μοι ἐγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα ¹

καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἀδόντων, ἐν οἷς τοῦ υἱέος ἐξίστασθαί φησι ταῖς Μοίραις, λεγόντων τε αὖ ἐν ψυχοστασίᾳ, ὅτι Μίνω τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Σαρπηδόνος ἀποθανόντα χρυσῷ μὲν σκῆπτρῳ ἐτίμησε καὶ δικάζειν ἔταξεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αἰδωνέως ἀγορᾷ, Μοιρῶν δ' οὐ παρητήσατο. σὺ δ', ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ χάριν ἄχθῃ τῷ λόγῳ, θεῶν καρτερούντων αὐτόν,

¹ Iliad xvi. 433: 'Alas for myself, for that Destiny decrees that Sarpedon dearest of men shall be overcome by Patroclus son of Menoetus.'

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

blockaded in this city by Vitellius, and the temple of CHAP.
VII Jupiter was burnt on the brow of the hill overlooking the city, and Vitellius declared that his own fortune was assured, so long as you did not escape him, this although you were at the time quite a stripling and not the man you are now ; and yet, because the Fates had decreed otherwise, he was undone with all his counsels, while you are now in possession of his throne. However, since I abhor the concords of flattery, for it seems to me that they are everything that is out of time and out of tune, let me cut the string out of my lyre, and request you to consider that on that occasion I had not your fortunes in my mind, but was talking exclusively of questions of the Fates and of Necessity for it was in speaking of them that they accused me of having assailed yourself. And yet such an argument as mine is tolerated by most of the gods ; and even Zeus himself is not angry when he hears from the poet in “ the story of Lycia ” this language :—

‘ Alas for myself, when Sarpedon . . . , ’

And there are other such strains referring to himself, such as those in which he accuses the Fates of having deprived him of his son ; and in the weighing of souls again the poets tell you that, although after her death he presented Minos the brother of Sarpedon with a golden sceptre, and appointed him judge in the court of Aidoneus, yet he could not exempt him from the decree of the Fates. And you, my prince, why should you resent my argument when the gods put up with it, whose fortunes are for

Odys. 11.
568

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
VII. οἷς πέπηγεν αἰὲν τὰ πράγματα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτείνον-
των τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ; προσήκει γὰρ ταῖς
Μοίραις ἔπεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν
πραγμάτων μὴ χαλεποὺς εἶναι, Σοφοκλεῖ τε μὴ
ἀπιστεῖν

μόνοις οὐ γίγνεται

θεοῖσι γῆρας, οὐδὲ μὴν θανεῖν ποτε,
τὰ δ' ἄλλα συγχεῖ πάνθ' ὁ παγκρατὴς χρόνος,

ἄριστα δὴ ἀνθρώπων λέγοντι. ἐγκύκλιοι γὰρ αἱ
κατ' ἀνθρώπους εὐπραγίαι καὶ ἐφήμερον, ὧ
βασιλεῦ, τὸ τοῦ ὄλβου μήκος· τὰ μὰ οὗτος καὶ τὰ
τούτου ἕτερος καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἔχων οὐκ
ἔχει. ταῦτ' ἐννοῶν, ὧ βασιλεῦ, παῦε μὲν φυγὰς,
παῦε δ' αἶμα, καὶ φιλοσοφία μὲν ὅ τι βούλει χρῶ,
ἀπαθὴς γὰρ ἢ γε ἀληθής, δάκρυα δὲ ἀνθρώπων
ἀφαίρει, ὥς νῦν γε ἡχὼ μυρία μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης,
πολλῶ δὲ πλείων ἐξ ἡπείρων φοιτᾷ θρηνούντων,
ὅτι ἐκάστῳ θρήνου ἄξιον. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν φυόμενα
πλείω ὄντα ἢ ἀριθμεῖσθαι ταῖς τῶν συκοφαντῶν
γλώτταις ἀνῆπται, διαβαλλόντων σοί τε πάντα
καὶ σέ, ὧ βασιλεῦ, πᾶσιν.”

VIII

CAP.
VIII. Ὡδε μὲν δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐκ παρασκευῆς εἶχεν,
ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δ' εὗρον τοῦ λόγου τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ
προτέρου τὸ

οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὗτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

ever fixed and assured, and who never slew poets on that account? For it is our duty to follow the Fates and obey them, and not take offence with the changes of fortune, and to believe in Sophocles when he says:—

‘For the gods alone there comes no old age, nay, nor ever death; but all other things are confounded by all-mastering time . . .’

CHAP.
VII

Oed. Col.
607 sqq.

No man ever put the truth so well. For the prosperity of men runs in a circle, and the span of happiness, my prince, lasts for a single day. My property belongs to another and his to another, and his again to a third; and each in having hath not. Think of this, my prince, and put a stop to your decrees of exile, stay the shedding of blood, and have recourse to philosophy in your wishes and plans; for true philosophy feels no pangs. And in doing so wipe away men’s tears; for at present echoes reach us from the sea of a thousand sighs, and they are redoubled from the continents, where each laments over his peculiar sorrows. Thence is bred an incalculable crop of evils, all of them due directly to the slanderous tongues of informers, who render all men objects of hatred to yourself, and yourself, O prince, to all.”

VIII

SUCH then was the oration which the sage had prepared beforehand, at the end whereof I found the last words of the earlier speech, namely:

“For thou shalt not kill me, since I tell thee I am not mortal,”

CHAP.
VIII
Effect on
Domitian
of the Sage’s
sudden dis-
appearance.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VIII. καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου ἔτι, ἀφ' ὧν τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου δαιμόνιον τε καὶ οὐ ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν τρόπον, οὐκ ἔπαθεν ὁ τύραννος, ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤοντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ᾤοντο αὐτὸν σχέτλια ὑπὲρ τούτου βοήσεσθαι καὶ δίωξιν ποιήσεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, κηρύξειν τε ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν, μηδαμοῦ παριτητέα εἶναί οἱ, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν τούτων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀγωνιζόμενος πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν ἢ ξυνιείς λοιπόν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα οἱ αὐταρκες. εἰ δ' ὑπερεώρα, ξυμβαλώμεθα τοῖς ἐφεξῆς, φανείη γὰρ ἂν ξυνταραχθεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ καταφρονήσας.

IX

CAP. IX. Ἦκροᾶτο μὲν γὰρ ἐτέρας ἐπ' ἐκείνη δίκης, πόλις δ' ἦν ἀγωνιζομένη πρὸς ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ διαθηκῶν, οἶμαι, διέφευγον δ' αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν δικαζομένων ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς δίκης, ἀνόητοι μὲν γὰρ αἱ ἐρωτήσεις ἦσαν, αἱ δ' ἀποκρίσεις οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ κρίσις· ἃ σφόδρα ἤλεγχε τὸν τύραννον, ὥς ἐξεπέπληκτό τε καὶ ἠπόρει, δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ πεπεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν κολακευόντων, ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν διαφύγοι αὐτόν.

X

CAP. X. Οὕτω τὸν τύραννον διαθεὶς καὶ παίγνιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἀποφύνας τὸν Ἑλλησί τε καὶ

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together with the words which preceded and led up to this quotation. But the effect upon the despot of his quitting the court in a manner so godlike and inexplicable was quite other than that which the many expected; for they expected him to make a terrific uproar and institute a hunt for the man, and to send forth proclamations over his empire to arrest him wherever they should find him. But he did nothing of the kind, as if he set himself to defeat men's expectations; or because he now at last realised that as against the sage he had no resources of his own. But whether he acted from contempt, let us conjecture from what ensued, for he will be seen to have been confounded with astonishment rather than filled with contempt.

IX

For he had to hear another case after that of Apollonius, an action brought, I think, in connexion with a will by some city against a private individual; and he had forgotten not only the names of the parties, but also the matter at issue in the suit; for his questions were without meaning and his answers were not even relevant to the cause,—all which argued the degree of astonishment and perplexity under which the despot laboured, the more so because his flatterers had persuaded him that nothing could escape his memory.

X

SUCH was the condition to which Apollonius reduced the despot, making him a plaything of his

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
X. βαρβάροις φοβερὸν πᾶσι, πρὸ μεσημβρίας μὲν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, περὶ δείλην δ' ἐν Δικαιαρχίᾳ ἐφάνη Δημητρίῳ τε καὶ Δάμιδι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν τὸ παρακελεύσασθαι αὐτὸν τῷ Δάμιδι μὴ περιμείναντι τὴν ἀπολογίαν πεξεῦσαι ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ βεβουλευμένα οὐ προὔλεγε, τὸν δ' ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐκέλευε πράττειν, ἃ τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις εἶπετο.

XI

CAP.
XI. Ἐτύγχανε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δάμις τῆς προτεραίας ἀφιγμένος καὶ τῷ Δημητρίῳ ξυγγεγονῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ὁ δ' εὐλαβέστερον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀκροώμενον εἰκὸς διατεθεὶς ἦν ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, καὶ πάλιν τῆς ὑστεραίας ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡρώτα, ξυναλύων αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ᾗ τὰ περὶ τὴν Καλυψῶ μινθεύματα· ἀπεγίγνωσκον μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐχ ἥξοντος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς τυραννίδος χαλεπὰ ἦν πᾶσι, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσταττόμενα ἐτίμων διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἀπειπόντες οὖν ἐκάθηντο ἐς τὸ νύμφαιον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πίθος, λευκοῦ δ' οὐτός ἐστι λίθου ξυνέχων πηγὴν ὕδατος οὔθ' ὑπερβάλλουσιν τοῦ στομίου οὔτ', εἴ τις ἀπαντλοίῃ, ὑποδιδούσαν. διαλεχθέντες δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ μάλα ἐσπουδακότες, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀθυμίαν, ἐπανήγον τὸν λόγον ἐς τὰ πρὸ τῆς δίκης,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

philosophy who had been the terror of Hellenes and barbarians ; and before midday he left the court, and at dusk appeared to Demetrius and Damis at Dicaearchia. And this accounts for his having instructed Damis to go by land to Dicaearchia, without waiting to hear his defence. For he had given no previous notice of his intentions, but had merely told the man who was mostly in his intimacy to do what best accorded with his plans.

CHAP.

X

The Sage is translated miraculously to Dicaearchia.

XI

Now Damis had arrived the day before and had talked with Demetrius about the preliminaries of the trial ; and the account filled the latter, when he listened to it, with more apprehension than you might expect of a listener when Apollonius was in question. The next day also he asked him afresh about the same particulars, as he wandered with him along the edge of the sea, which figures in the fables told about Calypso ; for they were almost in despair of their master coming to them, because the tyrant's hand was hard upon all ; yet out of respect for Apollonius' character they obeyed his instructions. Discouraged, then, they sat down in the chamber of the nymphs, where there is the cistern of white marble, which contains a spring of water which neither overflows its edges, nor recedes, even if water be drawn from it. They were talking about the quality of the water in no very serious manner ; and presently, owing to the anxiety they felt about the sage, brought back their conversation to the circumstances which preceded the trial.

CHAP.

XI

Appears to Damis and Demetrius in the cave of the Nymphs.

CAP.
XII

Ἀνολοφυραμένου δὲ τοῦ Δάμιδος, καί τε καὶ τοιοῦτον εἰπόντος, “ ἄρ’ ὀψόμεθά ποτε, ὦ θεοί, τὸν καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐταῖρον; ” ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφεστῶς ἤδη τῷ νυμφαίῳ ἐτύγχανεν, “ ὄψεσθε, ” εἶπε, “ μᾶλλον δὲ ἐωράκατε. ” “ ζῶντα; ” ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, “ εἰ δὲ τεθνεῶτα, οὐπω πεπαύμεθα ἐπὶ σοὶ κλάοντες, ” προτείνας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὴν χεῖρα, “ λαβοῦ μου, ” ἔφη, “ κἂν μὲν διαφύγω σε, εἰδωλὸν εἰμί σοι ἐκ Φερσεφάττης ἦκον, οἷα φαίνουσιν οἱ χθόνιοι θεοὶ τοῖς ἀθυμοτέροις τὰ πένθη, εἰ δὲ ὑπομείναιμι ἀπτόμενον, πείθε καὶ Δάμιν ζῆν τέ με καὶ μὴ ἀποβεβληκέναι τὸ σῶμα. ” οὐκέθ’ οἷοι ἀπιστεῖν ἦσαν, ἀλλ’ ἀναστάντες ἐξεκρέμαντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἡσπάζοντο, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς ἀπολογίας ἡρώτων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημήτριος οὐδ’ ἀπολελογῆσθαι αὐτόν, ἀπολέσθαι γὰρ ἂν καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα, Δάμις δ’ ἀπολελογῆσθαι μὲν, θᾶττον δ’ ἴσως, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἐκείνης τε τῆς ἡμέρας ᾤετο. ὁ δ’ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ ἀπολελόγημαι, ” ἔφη, “ ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ νικῶμεν, γέγονε δέ μοι τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας τήμερον οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας, προῆει γὰρ ἤδη ἐς μεσημβρίαν. ” “ πῶς οὖν, ” ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, “ τοσήνδε ὁδὸν ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦνυσας; ” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ πλὴν

XII

DAMIS' grief had just broken out afresh, and he had made some such exclamation as the following: "Shall we ever behold, O ye gods, our noble and good companion?" when Apollonius, who had heard him,—for as a matter of fact he was already present in the chamber of the nymphs,—answered: "Ye shall see him, nay, ye have already seen him." "Alive?" said Demetrius, "For if you are dead, we have anyhow never ceased to lament you." Whereupon Apollonius stretched out his hand and said: "Take hold of me, and if I evade you, then I am indeed a ghost come to you from the realm of Persephone, such as the gods of the under-world reveal to those who are dejected with much mourning. But if I resist your touch, then you shall persuade Damis also that I am both alive and that I have not abandoned my body." They were no longer able to disbelieve, but rose up and threw themselves on his neck and kissed him, and asked him about his defence. For while Demetrius was of opinion that he had not even made his defence,—for he expected him to be destroyed without any wrong being proved against him,—Damis thought that he had made his defence, but perhaps more quickly than was expected; for he never dreamed that he had made it only that day. But Apollonius said: "I have made my defence, gentlemen, and have gained my cause; and my defence took place this very day not so long ago, for it lasted on even to midday." "How then," said Demetrius, "have you accomplished so long a journey in so small a fraction of the day?" And

CHAP.
XIIThey mis-
take Apollo-
nius at
first for
his ghost

CAP. XII κριοῦ,” ἔφη, “καὶ πτερῶν κηροῦ ξυγκειμένων πάντα οἴου, θεὸν ἐπιγράφων τῇ πομπῇ ταύτῃ.”

“Πανταχοῦ μὲν,” ἦ δ’ ὁ Δημήτριος, “τῶν σῶν ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων θεὸν ἀεὶ τινα προορᾶν ἡγοῦμαι, παρ’ οὗ τὰ σὰ οὕτως ἔχει, τὴν δ’ ἀπολογίαν, ἣ τις γέγονε, καὶ ἅττα ἡ κατηγορία εἶχε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ δικάζοντος ἡθος, καὶ ὃ τι ἤρετο καὶ ὅτῳ ξυγκατέθετο ἢ ὅτῳ μὴ, λέγε ὁμοῦ πάντα, ἵνα καὶ Τελεσίῳ ἕκαστα φράζοιμι, οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσει ἐρωτῶν τὰ σά, ὅς γε καὶ πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα ἴσως ἡμερῶν ἐμοὶ ξυμπίνων ἐν Ἀνθίῳ, κατέδαρθε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, μεσοῦσης δ’ αὐτῷ τῆς κύλικος ἔδοξεν ὄναρ πῦρ ἐν τῇ γῇ πελαγίσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολαμβάνειν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ φθάνειν ὑποφεύγοντας, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ῥεῖν αὐτὸ παραπλησίως τῷ ὕδατι, σὲ δ’ οὐχ ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ διανεῦσαι αὐτοῦ σχισθέντος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ τούτῳ θεοῖς εὐξυμβόλοις ἔσπεισεν, ἐμοί τε παρεκελεύσατο ὑπὲρ σοῦ θαρρεῖν.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “οὐ θαυμάζω Τελεσίῳ,” εἶπεν, “ὑπερκαθεύδοντα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπερεγρήγορέ μου πάλαι, τὰ δ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς δίκης πεύσεσθε μὲν, οὐ μὴν ἐνταῦθα, δείλη τε γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἤδη καὶ βαδίζειν ὥρα ἐς ἄστυ, ἡδίους δ’ οἱ καθ’ ὁδὸν λόγοι παραπέμψαι βαδίζοντας. ἴωμεν οὖν διαλαλῶντες

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Apollonius replied : " Imagine what you will, flying goat or wings of wax excepted, so long as you ascribe it to the intervention of a divine escort." CHAP.
XII

" Well," said Demetrius, " I have always thought that your actions and words were providentially cared for by some god, to whom you owe your present preservation, nevertheless pray tell us about the defence you made, what it consisted of and what the accusation had to say against you, and about the temper of the judge, and what questions he put, and what he allowed to pass of your pleas and what not, —tell us all at once in order that I may tell everything in turn to Telesinus, for he will never leave off asking me about your affairs ; for about fifteen days back he was drinking with me in Antium, when he fell asleep at table, and just as the middle cup in honour of the good genius was being passed round he dreamed a dream ; and he saw a fire spreading like a sea over the land, and it enveloped some men, and caught up others as they fled ; for it flowed along, he said, exactly like water, but you alone suffered not the fate of the rest, but swam clean through it as it divided to let you through. And in honour of the gods who inspire such happy presages he poured out a libation in consequence of this dream, and he bade me be of good cheer on your account." And Apollonius said : " I am not surprised at Telesinus dreaming about me, for in his vigils, I assure you, he long ago occupied his mind about me ; but as regards the trial, you shall learn everything, but not in this place ; for it is already growing late in the evening, and it is time for us to proceed to the town ; and it is pleasant too to talk as you go along the road, for conversation assists you on your way like an escort. The dream
of Telesinus

CAP. XII. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐρωτᾶτε, λέξω δὲ τὰ τήμερον δῆπου ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ πραχθέντα. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἄμφω ἴστε, σὺ μὲν παρατυχών, σὺ δ' ἡκροαμένος, οἶμαι, τούτου, μὰ Δία, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν, εἰ μὴ ἐκλέλυσμαι Δημητρίου, ἃ δ' οὐπω ἴστε, δίδειμι, διείρων ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως καὶ τοῦ γυμνὸς ἐσελθεῖν.” διῆει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόγους καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ “οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις,” καὶ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τῆς κρίσεως, ὡς ἀπῆλθε.

XIII

CAP. XIII. Τότε ἀναβοήσας Δημήτριος, “ἐγὼ μὲν ὄμνην σεσωσμένον ἀφίχθαι σε, σοὶ δ' ἀρχὴ κινδύνων ταῦτα, ξυλλήψεται γάρ σε καταγγελλόμενον καὶ πάσης ἀποστροφῆς εἰργόμενον.” ὁ δ' ἐρρῶσθαι τῷ Δημητρίου δέει φράζων, “εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὦδε αὐτῷ εὐάλωτοι ἦτε· ἀλλ' ὅπως μὲν τὰ κείνου νῦν ἔχει, ἐγὼ οἶδα· κολακευόντων γὰρ αἰὲν λόγων ἄκροατὴς γιγνόμενος, νῦν ἐπιπληττόντων ἡκρόαται, ῥήγνυνται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων αἱ τύραννοι φύσεις καὶ περὶ ταῦτα χολῶσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀναπαύλης δεῖ γόνυ οὐπω κάμψαντι ἐκ τοῦ ἄθλου.” καὶ ὁ Δάμις, “ἐγώ, Δημήτριε, διεκείμην μὲν οὕτως,” ἔφη,

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Let us then start and discuss your questions as we go along, and I will certainly tell you of to-day's events in the court. For you both of you know the circumstances which preceded the trial, the one of you because he was present, and the other because I am sure, by Zeus, he has not heard it once only, but again and again, if I know you well, my Demetrius. But I will relate to you what you do not know as yet, beginning with my being summoned into the Emperor's presence, into which I was ushered naked." And he proceeded to detail to them his own words, and above all at the end of them the citation: "For thou shalt not kill me," and he told them exactly how he vanished from the seat of judgment.

CHAP.
XII

XIII

WHEREUPON Demetrius cried out: "I thought you had come hither because you were saved; but this is only the beginning of your dangers, for he will proscribe you, seize your person, and cut off all means of escape." Apollonius, however, told Demetrius not to be afraid and encouraged him by saying; "I only wish that you were both no more easy for him to catch than I am. But I know exactly in what condition of mind the tyrant is at this moment; hitherto he has never heard anything except the utterances of flatterers, and now he has had to listen to the language of rebuke; such language breaks despotic natures down and enrages them. But I require some rest, for I have not bent the knee since I had this struggle." And Damis said: "Demetrius, my own attitude towards our friend's affairs was such

CHAP.
XIII
Damis stills
the ap-
prehen-
sions of
Demetrius

CAP.
XIII

“πρὸς τὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πράγματα, ὡς καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἀπάγειν αὐτόν, ἐφ’ ἧς ἤκει, ξυνεβούλευες δέ που καὶ σὺ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ ἐς κινδύνους ἐκουσίους τε καὶ χαλεποὺς ἴοι, ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐτύγχανε μὲν δεδεμένος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, ἄπορα δ’ ἡγούμενῳ τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ ἔφη τὸ λελύσθαι εἶναι, καὶ τὸ σκέλος ἐλευθερώσας τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἔδειξε· τότε πρῶτον κατενόησα τοῦ ἀνδρός, θεσπέσιόν τε εἶναι αὐτόν καὶ κρείσσῳ τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας· ὁθεν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπωτέροις τούτων ἐντύχοιμι, οὐδὲν ἂν δέισαιμι ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ κινδυνεύων. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἐσπέρα, βαδίζωμεν ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὕπνου,” ἔφη, “δέομαι μόνου, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ἐν ἴσῳ τίθεμαι λόγῳ, καὶ παρῇ τι αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπῇ.” μετὰ ταῦτα εὐξάμενος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἔτι τῷ Ἠλίῳ παρήλθεν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἣν ᾧκει ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ τῷ πόδε ἀπονιψάμενος παρακελευσάμενός τε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμιν δειπνεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἄσιτοι αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, ἔρριψεν ἐς τὴν κλίνην ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐφυμνήσας τῷ ὕπνῳ τὸ Ὅμηρου ἔπος ἐκάθευδεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀξίοις φροντίσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν.

XIV

CAP.
XIV

Περὶ δὲ ὄρθρον ἐρομένου αὐτόν τοῦ Δημητρίου, ποῖ τῆς γῆς τρέφοιτο, καὶ κτυπεῖσθαι δοκοῦντος τὰ ὦτα ὑπὸ ἐννοίας ἱππέων, οὓς ᾤετο ἐπικεῖσθαι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

that I tried to dissuade him from taking the journey CHAP. XIX which he has taken, and I believe you too gave him the same advice, namely that he should not rush of his own accord into dangers and difficulties; but when he was thrown into fetters, as I saw with my own eyes, and I was perplexed and in despair of his case, he told me that it rested with himself to release himself and he freed his leg from the fetters and showed it to me. Well, it was then for the first time that I understood our master to be a divine being, transcending all our poor wisdom and knowledge. Consequently, even if I were called upon to expose myself to still greater risks than these, I should not fear anything, as long as I was under his protection. But since the evening is at hand, let us go into the inn to minister to and take care of him." And Apollonius said: "Sleep is all I want, and everything else is a matter of indifference to me, whether I get it or whether I do not." And after that, having offered a prayer to Apollo and also to the Sun, he passed into the house in which Demetrius lived, and having washed his feet, and instructed Damis and his friend to take their supper, for he saw that they were fasting, he threw himself upon the bed, and having intoned some verses of Homer as a hymn Iliad 14. 233 to sleep, he took his repose, as if his circumstances gave him no just cause whatever for anxiety.

XIV

ABOUT dawn Demetrius asked him where on CHAP. XIV earth he would turn his steps, for there resounded in his ears the clatter of imaginary horsemen who he thought were already in hot pursuit of

CAP.
XIV

ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ τυράννου, “διώξεται μὲν,” ἔφη, “με οὐδὲ αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ ἕτερος, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ πλοῦς ἔσται.” “σφαλερός γε,” εἶπε, “τὸ γὰρ χωρίον φανερώτατον· ὃν δὲ μὴδ’ ἂν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ διαφύγοις, πῶς ἂν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λάθοις;” “οὐ δέομαι,” ἔφη, “λανάειν, εἰ γάρ, ὥς σὺ οἶει, τοῦ τυράννου ἡ γῆ πᾶσα, βελτίους οἱ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀποθνήσκοντες τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ζώντων.” καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν, “αἰσθάνη,” ἔφη, “νεὼς ἀφιεΐσης ἐς Σικελίαν;” “αἰσθάνομαι,” εἶπε, “καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καταλύομεν καὶ ὁ κηρύττων ἀγχοῦ θυρῶν, στέλλεται τε ἡ ναὺς ἤδη· ξυμβάλλομαι δ’ αὐτὸ τῇ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων βοῇ καὶ οἷς περὶ τὴν αἰαίρεσιν τῶν ἀγκυρῶν πράττουσιν.” “ἐπιβῶμεν,” εἶπε, “τῆς νεὼς ταύτης, ὦ Δάμι, πλευσούμενοι νῦν μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐκείθεν δ’ ἐς Πελοπόννησον.” “ξυνδοκεῖ μοι,” ἔφη, “καὶ πλέωμεν.”

XV

CAP.
XV

Καὶ προσειπόντες τὸν Δημήτριον ἀθύμως ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἔχοντα, θαρρεῖν τε παραινέσαντες ὥς ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν, ἔπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἀνέμφῳ ἐπιτηδείῳ, Μεσσήνην τε παραπλεύσαντες ἐγένοντο ἐν Ταυρομενίῳ τριταῖοι. μετὰ ταῦτ’ ἐπὶ Συρακουσῶν κομισθέντες ἀνήγοντο ἐς Πελοπόννησον περὶ μετοπώρου ἀρχάς, ὑπεράραντες δὲ τοῦ πελάγους

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

Apollonius on account of the rage of the tyrant, but Apollonius merely replied: "Neither he nor anyone else is going to pursue me, but as for myself I shall take sail for Hellas." "That is anyhow a dangerous voyage," said the other, "for the region is most exposed and open; and how are you going to be hid out in the open from one whom you cannot escape in the dark?" "I do not need to lie hid," said Apollonius; "for if, as you imagine, the entire earth belongs to the tyrant, it is better to die out in the open than to live in the dark and in hiding." And turning to Damis he said: "Do you know of a ship that is starting for Sicily?" "I do," he replied, "for we are staying on the edge of the sea, and the crier is at our doors, and a ship is just being got ready to start, as I gather from the shouts of the crew, and from the exertions they are making over weighing the anchor." "Let us embark," said Apollonius, "upon this ship, O Damis, for we will now sail to Sicily, and thence on to the Peloponnese." "I am agreeable," said the other; "so let us sail."

CHAP.
XIV

XV

THEY then said farewell to Demetrius, who was despondent about them, but they bade him hope for the best, as one brave man should for others as brave as himself, and then they sailed for Sicily with a favourable wind, and having passed Messina they reached Tauromenium on the third day. After that they arrived at Syracuse, and put out for the Peloponnese about the beginning of the autumn;

CHAP.
XV
The Sage
and Damis
sail for
Olympia

CAP.
XV

ἀφίκοντο δι' ἡμέρας ἑκτῆς ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ
ἐκβολάς, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Ἀδρία καὶ Σικε-
λικῶ πελάγει ἐπιχεῖται πότιμος. ἀποβάντες οὖν
τῆς νεώς, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἐς Ὀλυμ-
πίαν ἥκειν, διητῶντο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διός, οὐδαμοῦ
ὑπὲρ Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποφοιτῶντες. φήμης δ' ἀθρόας
τε καὶ ξυντόνου κατασχούσης τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ζῆν
τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀφίχθαι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, καταρχὰς
μὲν ἐδόκει μὴ ἐρρῶσθαι ὁ λόγος, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μὴ
ἐλπίδος τι ἀνθρωπείας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ
δεδέσθαι αὐτὸν ἤκουσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἀνήκοοι
ἦσαν ἀποθανεῖν καταφλεχθέντα, οἱ δ' ἐλχθῆναι
ζῶντα καταπαγόντων ἐς τὰς κλεῖδας αὐτοῦ ἀγκί-
στρων, οἱ δ' ἐῶσθαι ἐς βάραθρον, οἱ δ' ἐς βυθόν·
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤκειν ἐπιστεύθη, οὐδ' ἐπ' Ὀλυμπιάδα
οὐδεμίαν μετέωρος οὔτω ξυνῆει ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὥς ἐπ'
ἐκείνουν τότε, Ἥλις μὲν καὶ Σπάρτη αὐτόθεν,
Κόρινθος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὀρίων, Ἀθηναῖοι
δέ, εἰ καὶ Πελοποννήσου ἔξω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλείποντο
τῶν πόλεων, αἱ ἐπὶ θύραις εἰσὶ τῆς Πίσσης, αὐτοὶ
μάλιστα οἱ ἐπικυδέστατοι Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν
στεύχοντες καὶ νεότης ἢ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς
Ἀθήναζε φοιτῶσα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Μεγαρόθεν τινὲς
ἐπεχωρίασαν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ τότε, καὶ Βοιωτῶν
πολλοί, κάργῳθεν, Φωκέων τε καὶ Θετταλῶν ὃ τι
εὐδόκιμον, οἱ μὲν ξυγγεγονότες ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ,
ἀνακτησόμενοι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ πλειόνων τε καὶ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

and having traversed the gulf they arrived after six days at the mouth of the Alpheus, where that river pours its waters, still sweet, into the Adriatic and Sicilian Sea. Here then they disembarked, and thinking it well worth their while to go to Olympia, they went and stayed there in the temple of Zeus, though without ever going further away than Scillous. A rumour as sudden as insistent now ran through the Hellenic world that the sage was alive, and had arrived at Olympia. At first the rumour seemed unreliable; for besides that they were humanly speaking unable to entertain any hope for him inasmuch as they heard that he was cast into prison, they had also heard such rumours as that he had been burnt alive, or dragged about alive with grapnels fixed in his neck, or cast into a deep pit, or into a well. But when the rumour of his arrival was confirmed, they all flocked to see him from the whole of Greece, and never did any such crowd flock to any Olympic festival as then, all full of enthusiasm and expectation. People came straight from Elis and Sparta, and from Corinth away at the limits of the Isthmus; and the Athenians too, although they are outside the Peloponnese; nor were they behind the cities which are at the gates of Pisa, for it was especially the most celebrated of the Athenians that hurried to the temple, together with the young men who flocked to Athens from all over the earth. Moreover there were people from Megara just then staying in Olympia, as well as many from Boeotia, and from Argos, and all the leading people of Phocis and Thessaly. Some of them had already made Apollonius' acquaintance, anxious to pick up his wisdom afresh, for they were convinced that there

CHAP.
XV

Whither
all Greece
flocks to
see him

CAP. XV. θαυμασιωτέρων ἀκροάσασθαι ᾤοντο, οἳ δ' ἄπειροι αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἀνήκοι φαίνεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ διαφύγοι τὸν τύραννον, οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεῖν φορτικὸν φράζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολελογησθαί τε ἔφασκε καὶ σεσῶσθαι· πολλῶν δ' ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἡκόντων, οἱ ἐκήρυττον τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, διέκειτο μὲν ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν, θεῖον ἡγούμενοι ἄνδρα δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ μηδ' ἐς κόμπον μηδένα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καθίστασθαι.

XVI

CAP. XVI. Νεανίσκου δὲ τῶν ἡκόντων Ἀθήνηθεν μάλα εὖνουν τὴν Ἀθηναίαν εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ φήσαντος, “πέπαυσο,” εἶπεν, “Ὀλυμπίασιν ὑπὲρ τούτων κροτῶν καὶ διαβάλλων τὴν θεὸν τῷ πατρί. ἐπιδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τῇ ἀχθηδόνι καὶ δίκαια πράττειν τὴν θεὸν φήσαντος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐπώνυμον Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν, “εἴθε,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἐν Παναθηναίοις,” ἐπιστομίζων αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων, ὥς κακῶς εἰδότα περὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ τυράννοις αὐτοὺς εὖνους ἡγοῖτο, τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς, ὥς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἐφ' Ἀρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ψηφιζομένων Ἀθηναίων, εἰ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους τιμᾶν ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς νομίζοντες

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

remained much to learn, more striking than what they had so far heard; but those who were not acquainted with him thought it a shame that they should seem never to have heard so great a man discourse. In answer to their questions then, of how he had escaped the clutches of the tyrant, he did not deem it right to say anything boastful; but he merely told them that he had made his defence and got away safely. However when several people arrived from Italy, who bruited abroad the episode of the law-court, the attitude of Hellas towards him came near to that of actual worship; the main reason why they thought him divine being this, that he never made the least parade about the matter.

CHAP.
XV

XVI

AMONG the arrivals from Athens there was a youth who asserted that the goddess Athene was very well disposed to the Emperor, whereupon Apollonius said to him: "In Olympia please to stop your chatter of such things, for you will prejudice the goddess in the eyes of her father." But as the youth increased their annoyance by declaring that the goddess was quite right, because the Emperor was Archon Eponym of the city of Athene, he said: "Would that he also presided at the Panathenaic festival." By the first of his answers he silenced him, for he showed that he held a poor opinion of the gods, if he considered them to be well disposed to tyrants: by his second he showed that the Athenians would stultify the decree which they passed in honour of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, if after seeing fit to honour these

CHAP.
XVI
Rebukes a
partisan of
Domitian

CAP. XVI ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν Παναθηναίοις ἔδρασαν, τυράννοις λοιπὸν χαρίζονται τὸ κεχειροτονημένους αὐτῶν ἄρχειν.

XVII

CAP. XVII Ξυμβουλευόντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Δάμιδος ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἐφοδίων σφίσι πάνυ σμικρὰ ἐλείπετο, “αὔριον,” ἔφη, “τούτου ἐπιμελήσομαι.” καὶ παρελθὼν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, “δός,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ἱερεῦ, χιλίας μοι δραχμὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Διὸς χρημάτων, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα οἷει χαλεπανεῖν αὐτόν.” καὶ ὁ ἱερεύς, “οὐχ ὑπὲρ τούτων,” ἔφη, “χαλεπανεῖ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, εἰ μὴ πλείω λήψῃ.”

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Θετταλοῦ δὲ ἀνδρός, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰσαγόρας, ξυνόντος αὐτῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ Ἰσαγόρα, ἔστι τι πανήγυρις;” “νὴ Δί,” εἶπε, “τό γε ἡδιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους.” “τίς δὲ δὴ ὕλη τούτου; ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν ἡρόμην ὑπὲρ ὕλης τοῦδε τοῦ ἀγάλματος, σὺ δ' ἀπεκρίνου χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος ξυντεθῆναι αὐτό.” “καὶ τίς,” ἔφη, “ὕλη, Ἀπολλώνιε, τοῦ γε ἀσωμάτου;” “μεγίστη,” εἶπε, “καὶ ποικιλω-

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two citizens with statues in the market place, for the deed they committed at the Panathenaic festival, they ended by conferring on tyrants the privilege of being elected to govern them.

XVII

DAMIS approached him at this time to ask him about money, because they had so very little left to defray the expense of their journey. "To-morrow," said Apollonius, "I will attend to this." And on the next day he went into the temple and said to the priest: "Give me a thousand drachmas out of the treasury of Zeus, if you think he will not be too much annoyed." And the priest answered: "Not at that; what will annoy him will be if you do not take more."

XVIII

THERE was a man of Thessaly, named Isagoras, whom he met in Olympia and said: "Tell, me Isagoras, is there such a thing as a religious fair or festival?" "Why yes," he replied, "and by heaven there is nothing in the world of men, so agreeable and so dear to the gods." "And what is the material of which it is composed?" asked Apollonius; "It is as if I asked you about the material of which this image is made, and you answered me that it was composed of gold and ivory." "But," said the other, "what material, Apollonius, can a thing which is incorporeal be composed of?" "A most important material," replied Apollonius, "and

CAP.
XVIII

τάτῃ, τεμένῃ τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ δρόμοι καὶ σκηνὴ δῆπου, ἔθνη τε ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁμόρου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπερορίων τε καὶ ὑπὲρ θάλατταν.” καὶ μὴν καὶ τεχνῶν πλείστων αὐτὴν ξυγκεῖσθαι καὶ σοφισμάτων, σοφίας τε ἀληθινῆς καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ ξυμβουλιῶν καὶ διαλέξεων γυμνῆς τε ἀγωνίας καὶ μουσικῆς, ὡς Πυθοῖ πάτριον. “ἔοικεν,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, οὐ μόνον σωματοειδὲς εἶναι ἢ πανήγυρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμασιωτέρας ὕλης ἢ αἱ πόλεις, τὰ γὰρ τῶν σπουδαίων σπουδαιότατα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐλλογιμῶν ἐλλογιμώτατα ξυγκαλεῖ καὶ ξυνοικίζει.”

“Ἄρ’ οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Ἰσαγόρα, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τείχη καὶ ναῦς ἡγοῦνται, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡγησόμεθα, ἢ ἑτέρας ἐπ’ αὐτῆς δέῃ δόξης;” “τελεία,” ἔφη, “ὦ Τυανεῦ, ἥδε ἡ δόξα καὶ δίκαιον ἔπεσθαι αὐτῇ.” “καὶ μὴν ἀτελής,” εἶπεν, “ἐνθυμουμένῳ περὶ αὐτῆς ὃν ἐγὼ τρόπον δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ νῆες ἀνδρῶν δεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄνδρες νηῶν, καὶ μὴδ’ ἂν ἐνθυμηθῆναί ποτε ἀνθρώπους τὴν θάλατταν, εἰ μὴ ναῦς ἦν, σώζειν τε ἄνδρας μὲν τείχη, τείχη δὲ ἄνδρας, πανήγυρις δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἶναι μὲν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ξύνοδος, εἶναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ἐς ὃ χρὴ ξυνιέναι, καὶ τοσοῦτ’ ἂν μάλλον, ὅσ’ ἂν τείχη μὲν καὶ νῆες οὐδ’

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most varied in character ; for there are sacred groves in it, and shrines, and race-courses and, of course, a theatre, and tribes of men, some of them from the neighbouring countries, and others from over the borders, and even from across the sea. Moreover," he added, "many arts go to make up such a festival, and many designs, and much true genius, both of poets, and of civil counsellors, and of those who deliver harangues on philosophic topics, and contests between naked athletes, and contests of musicians, as is the custom in the Pythian festival." "It seems to me," said the other, "O Apollonius, that the festival is not only something corporeal, but is made up of more wonderful material than are cities ; for there is summoned together into one community on such occasions the best of the best, and the most celebrated of the celebrated."

"Then," said Apollonius, "O Isagoras, are we to consider the people we meet there in the same light as some people regard walls and ships, or do you need some other opinion of the festival?" "The opinion," answered the other, "which we have formulated, is quite adequate and complete, O man of Tyana, and we had better adhere to it." "And yet," said the other, "it is neither adequate nor complete to one who considers about it as I do ; for it appears to me that ships are in need of men and men of ships, and that men would never have thought about the sea at all if they had not had a ship ; and men are kept safe by walls and walls by men ; and in the same way I consider a festival to be not only the meeting of human beings, but also the place itself in which they have to meet, and the more so, because walls and ships would never have

CHAP.
XVIII

CAP.
XVIII

ἂν ἐγένοντο, εἰ μὴ δι' ἀνθρώπων χεῖρας, τὰ δὲ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπὸ χειρῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπείων ἐφθάρη τὸ αὐτοσχέδια μὴ εἶναι ἀφαιρεθέντα, φύσεως δ' εὖ ἦκοντα ἐπάξια τοῦ ξυμφοιτᾶν· ἐς αὐτὰ ἐνομίσθη, γυμνάσια μὲν γὰρ καὶ στοαὶ καὶ κρήναι καὶ οἶκοι, τέχνη ταῦτα ἀνθρωπείᾳ εἰργάσθη, καθάπερ τὰ τείχη καὶ αἱ νῆες, Ἀλφειὸς δὲ οὗτος καὶ ἵππόδρομος καὶ στάδιον καὶ ἄλση πρὸ ἀνθρώπων δῆπου ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν ἀποχρῶν ποτὸν εἶναι καὶ λουτρόν, ὁ δ' εὐρὺ πεδίον ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς ἵπποις, τὸ δ' ἐγκονίσασθαι καὶ διαδραμεῖν ἀθληταῖς διὰ τὸ παρέχεσθαι τινα ὄρον, αὐλῶνα σταδίου μῆκος, τὰ δὲ ἄλση στεφανῶσαι τοὺς νικῶντας καὶ τοὺς δρομικοὺς τῶν ἀθλητῶν γυμνάσαι. ταῦτα γάρ που καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐνθυμηθέντι, καὶ τὸ αὐτοφυὲς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀγασθέντι ἐπάξιος ἐφάνη· ὁ χῶρος τῶν ἔτι νῦν σπουδαζομένων ἐνταῦθα.”

XIX

CAP.
XIX

Ἡμερῶν δὲ τετταράκοντα διαλεχθεὶς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ πλεῖστα σπουδάσας, “καὶ κατὰ πόλεις μὲν,” ἔφη, “διαλέξομαι ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐν πανηγύρεσιν, ἐν πομπαῖς, ἐν μυστηρίοις, ἐν θυσίαις, ἐν σπονδαῖς—ἀστείου δὲ ἀνδρὸς δέονται—νῦν δὲ ἐς Λεβάδειαν χρὴ καταβῆναί με, ἐπεὶ τῷ Τροφωνίῳ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

come into being, unless there had been men's hands to build them, while these places, so far forth as they are deprived of their natural and original characteristics, are by the hands of men spoiled; for it was owing to their natural advantages that they were held worthy of being made their meeting-places; for though the gymnasiums and porticoes and fountains and houses have been all created by human art, just like the walls and the ships, yet this river Alpheus with the hippodrome and the stadium and the groves, existed, I suppose, before men came here, the one providing water for drinking and for the bath, and the second a broad plain for the horses to race in, and the third provided just the space required for the athletes to raise the dust in as they run along in their races, namely a valley a stadium in length, and the groves around supplied wreaths for the winners and served the athletes who were runners as a place to practise in. For I imagine that Hercules considered these facts, and because he admired the natural advantages of Olympia, he found the place worthy of the festival and games which are still held here."

CHAP.
XVIII

XIX

AFTER forty days, given up to discussions in Olympia, in which many topics were handled, Apollonius said: "I will also, O men of Hellas, discourse to you in your several cities, at your festivals, at your religious processions, at your mysteries, your sacrifices, at your public libations, and they require the services of a clever man; but for the present I must go down to Lebadea, for I have never yet had

CHAP.
XIX
Visits the
shrine of
Trophonius
at Lebadea

CAP.
XIX

μήπω ξυγγέγονα, καίτοι ἐπιφοιτήσας ποτὲ τῷ ἱερῷ.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐχώρει δὴ ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας, οὐδενὸς λειπομένου τῶν θαυμαζόντων αὐτόν. τὸ δ' ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ στόμιον ἀνάκειται μὲν Τροφωνίῳ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐσβατὸν μόνον τοῖς ὑπὲρ χρησμῶν φοιτῶσιν, ὁράται δ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, μικρὸν δ' ἄνω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν γηλόφῳ, ξυγκλείουσι δ' αὐτὸ σιδήρεοι ὀβελίσκοι κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες, ἡ δὲ κάθοδος οἷα ἰζήσαντα ἐπισπάσασθαι. λευκῇ δ' ἐσθῇτι ἐσταλμένοι πέμπονται, μελιτούττας ἀπάγοντες ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν, μειλίγματα ἐρπετῶν, ἃ τοῖς κατιοῦσιν ἐγχρίπτει. ἀναδίδωσι δ' ἡ γῆ τοὺς μὲν οὐ πόρρω, τοὺς δὲ πορρωτάτῳ, καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Λοκροὺς ἀναπέμπονται καὶ ὑπὲρ Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι περὶ τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὄρια. παρελθὼν οὖν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, “βούλομαι,” ἔφη, “καταβῆναι ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας.”

Ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς λεγόντων, μὴ ἂν ποτε γόητι ἀνθρώπῳ παρασχεῖν ἔλεγχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα πλαττομένων ἀποφράδας καὶ οὐ καθαρὰς χρῆσαι, τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην διελέχθη περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῆς Ἐρκύνης ὑπὲρ αἰτίας τοῦ μαντείου καὶ τρόπου, μόνον γὰρ ἐκεῖνο δι' αὐτοῦ χρᾶ τοῦ χρωμένου· ἐσπέρα δ' ὥς ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον μετὰ τῶν ξυνακολουθούντων νέων, καὶ τέτταρας τῶν ὀβελίσκων ἀνασπάσας, οἱ ξυνέχουσιν τὰς τῆς παρόδου κλείδας, ἐχώρει ὑποχθόνιος αὐτῷ τρίβωνι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

an interview with Trophonius, although I once visited his shrine." And with these words he at once started for Boeotia attended by every one of his admirers. Now the cavern in Lebadea is dedicated to Trophonius, the son of Apollo, and it can only be entered by those who resort thither in order to get an oracle, and it is not visible in the temple, but lies a little above it on a mound; and it is shut in by iron spits which surround it, and you descend into it as it were sitting down and being drawn down. Those who enter it are clad in white raiment, and are escorted thither with honey-cakes in their hands to appease the reptiles which assail them as they descend. But the earth brings them to the surface again, in some cases close by, but in other cases a long way off; for they are sent up to the surface beyond Locri and beyond Phocis, but most of them about the borders of Boeotia. Accordingly Apollonius entered the shrine and said: "I wish to descend into the cave in the interests of philosophy."

But the priests opposed him and though they told the multitude that they would never allow a wizard like him to examine and test the shrine, they pretended to the sage himself that only nefarious and impure women ever gave the oracles. So on that day he delivered a discourse at the springs of Hercyne, about the origin and conduct of the shrine; for it is the only oracle which gives responses through the person himself who consults it. And when the evening approached, he went to the mouth of the cave with his train of youthful followers, and having pulled up four of the obelisks, which constitute a bar to the passage, he went down below

CHAP.
XIX

CAP. XIX καθάπερ ἐς διάλεξιν ἑαυτὸν στείλας, οὕτω τι τῷ θεῷ φίλα πράττων, ὥς ἐπιστάντα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν Τροφώνιον, ἐς ἐπίπληξιν τε αὐτοῖς καταστῆναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐς Αὐλίδα τε ἔπεσθαι πάντας, ὥς ἐκεῖ ἀναδυσομένου θαυμασιώτατα ἀνθρώπων. ἀνέσχε γὰρ δι' ἡμερῶν ἐπτά, ὅσων μήπω τις τῶν ὑπελθόντων τὸ μαντεῖον, φέρων βιβλίον προσφορώτατον τῇ ἐρωτήσει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήλθεν εἰπών, “ τίνα, ὦ Τροφώνιε, καὶ σὺ τὴν ἀρτιωτάτην καὶ καθαρωτάτην φιλοσοφίαν ἡγῇ;” τὸ δὲ βιβλίον τὰς Πυθαγόρου εἶχε δόξας, ὥς καὶ τοῦ μαντείου τῇ σοφίᾳ ταύτῃ ξυντιθεμένου.

XX

CAP. XX Ἀνάκειται τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο ἐν Ἀνθίῳ, καὶ σπουδάζεται διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ δὲ Ἀνθιον Ἰταλῶν τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν Λεβადειαν οἰκούντων ξυγχωρῶ ἀκροᾶσθαι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου γνώμη ἀποπεφάνθω μοι, διακομισθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸ βασιλεῖ Ἀδριανῷ ὕστερον, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τινὰς τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιστολῶν, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάσας γε, καταμεῖναι δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἀνθίῳ, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν βασιλείων ἔχαιρεν.

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ground wearing his philosopher's mantle, having dressed himself as if he were going to deliver an address upon philosophy,—a step which the god Trophonius so thoroughly approved of, that he appeared to the priests and not only rebuked them for the reception they had given Apollonius, but enjoined them all to follow him to Aulis, for he said it was there that he would come to the surface in such a marvellous fashion as no man before. And in fact he emerged after seven days, a longer period than it had taken anyone of those who until then had entered the oracle, and he had with him a volume thoroughly in keeping with the questions he had asked: for he had gone down saying: "What, O Trophonius, do you consider the most complete and purest philosophy?" And the volume contained the tenets of Pythagoras, a good proof this, that the oracle was in agreement with this form of wisdom.

CHAP. XIX

Emerges from the cave of Trophonius with a volume of Pythagoras

XX

THIS book is preserved in Antium, and the village in question, which is on the Italian seaboard, is much visited for the purpose of seeing it. I must acknowledge that I only heard these details from the inhabitants of Lebadea; but in regard to the volume in question I must set on record my conviction, that it was subsequently conveyed to the Emperor Hadrian at the same time as certain letters of Apollonius, though by no means all of them; and it remained in the palace at Antium, which was that one of his Italian palaces in which this Emperor took most pleasure.

CHAP. XX

which volume is now in Antium

XXI

CAP.
XXI

Ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰωνίας οἱ ὁμιληταὶ πάντες, οὓς ὠνόμαζεν Ἀπολλωνιείους ἢ Ἑλλάς, καὶ ξυμμιχθέντες τοῖς αὐτόθεν νεότης ἐγένοντο θαυμάσαι ἄξιοι τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ὁρμῆς. ῥητορικὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέκειτο ἀμελουμένη, καὶ σμικρὰ προσεῖχον τοῖς τὴν τέχνην ξυγκροτοῦσιν, ὡς μόνης διδασκάλου τῆς γλώττης, ὠθίζοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφίαν πάντες. ὁ δ', ὥσπερ τοὺς Γύγας φασὶ καὶ τοὺς Κροίσους ἀκλείστους παρέχειν τὰς τῶν θησαυρῶν θύρας, ἵν' ἀπαντλεῖν εἴη τοῖς δεομένοις, οὕτω παρεῖχε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν τοῖς ἐρώσι, περὶ παντὸς ἐρωτᾶν ξυγχωρῶν.

XXII

CAP.
XXII

Διαβαλλόντων δ' αὐτὸν ἐνίων, ὅτι τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιδημίας ἐκτρέποιτο καὶ ἀπάγοι τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐς τὰς ἡσυχίας μᾶλλον, καὶ τινος ἀποσκώψαντος μετελαύνειν αὐτὸν τὰ πρόβατα, ἐπειδὰν τοὺς ἀγοραίους προσιόντας μάθῃ, “ νῆ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ ἵνα μὴ ἐμπίπτωσι τῇ ποίμνῃ οἱ λύκοι.” τί δ' ἐβούλετο αὐτῷ τοῦτο; τοὺς ἀγοραίους ὁρῶν ἀποβλεπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ προϊόντας ἐκ πενίας ἐς πλοῦτον, ἀπεχθείας τε οὕτως ἀσπαζομένους, ὡς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπέχθесθαι

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXI

FROM Ionia also there came to see him the band of companions who were named in Hellas the company of Apollonius ; and mixing with the people of the place they formed a band of youths, remarkable for their number and for their philosophic enthusiasm. For the science of rhetoric had been left neglected and little attention was paid to the professors of the art, on the ground that the tongue was their only teacher ; but now they were all impelled to study his philosophy. But he, like Gyges and Croesus, who they say left the door of their treasuries unlocked, in order that all who needed might fill their pockets from them, threw open the treasures of his wisdom to those who loved it, and allowed them to ask him questions upon every subject.

CHAP.

XXI

The Band of
Apollonius
accompany
him

XXII

BUT certain persons accused him of dissuading his pupils from visiting the governors, and of influencing them to lead lives of quiet and retirement instead ; and one of them uttered the jest that he drove away his sheep as soon as he found any forensic orator approaching. "Yes, by Zeus," said Apollonius, "lest these wolves should fall upon my flock." What was the meaning of this sally ? He saw these forensic orators looked up to by the multitude as they made their way up from poverty to great riches ; and he saw that they so welcomed the feuds of others, that they actually

CHAP.

XXII

He warns
them
against
forensic
orators

CAP.
XXII

πωλεῖν, ἀπῆγε τοὺς νέους τοῦ ξυνεῖναί σφισι καὶ τοὺς ξυγγενομένους αὐτοῖς ἐνουθέτει πικρότερον, οἷον ἀποπλύνων βαφῆς ἀτόπου· διεβέβλητο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεσμωτηρίων καὶ τῶν δεδεμένων τε καὶ ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω διετέθη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην, ὥς πάντα ταῦτα τῶν συκοφαντούντων καὶ τῶν δεινότητι ἐπηρμένων ἡγεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ τυράννου.

XXIII

CAP.
XXIII

Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνεσπούδαζεν, ἐπεῖχε τὸν οὐρανὸν διοσημία τοιαύτη· τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλον περιελθὼν στέφανος ἑοικὼς ἱριδί τὴν ἀκτῖνα ἡμαύρου. ὅτι μὲν δὴ ἐς νεώτερα ἡ διοσημία ἔφερε, δῆλα ἦν πᾶσιν, ὁ δ' ἄρχων τῆς Ἑλλάδος καλέσας αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Βοιωτίαν, “ἀκούω σε,” εἶπεν, “Ἀπολλώνιε, σοφὸν εἶναι τὰ δαιμόνια.” “εἰ γε,” ἔφη, “ἀκούεις, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια.” “ἀκούω,” εἶπε, “καὶ ξύμφημι.” “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “ξυνομολογεῖς, μὴ πολυπραγμόνει θεῶν βουλὰς, τουτὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σοφία ἐπαινεῖ.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλιπάρει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰπεῖν, ὅπη διανοεῖται, δεδιέναι γὰρ μὴ ἐς

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

conducted a traffic in hatred and feud ; accordingly he tried to dissuade these young men from associating with them, and those that did so associate with them he sharply reprov'd, as if to wash off them a monstrous stain. For he had been long before on bad terms with them ; and his experience of the prisons in Rome, and of the persons who were confined and perishing in them, so prejudiced him against the forensic art, as that he believed all these evils were due to sycophants and lawyers puffed up by their own cleverness, rather than to the despot himself.

CHAP.
XXII

XXIII

Just at the time when he was holding these conversations with the people of Hellas, the following remarkable portent overspread the heavens. The orb of the sun was surrounded by a wreath which resembled a rainbow, but dimmed the sunlight. That the heavenly sign portended a revolution was of course clear to all. However, when the governor of Hellas summoned Apollonius from Athens to Boeotia, and said : " I hear that you have a talent for understanding things divine," he replied : " Yes, and perhaps you have heard that I have some understanding of human affairs." " I have heard it," he replied, " and I quite agree." " Since then," said Apollonius, " you are of one opinion with me, I would advise you not to pry into the intentions of the gods ; for this is what human wisdom recommends you to do." And when he besought Apollonius to tell him what he thought, for he said he was afraid lest night should ensue and swallow up

CHAP.
XXIII

CAP. XXXIII νύκτα μεταστῇ πάντα, “θάρρει,” ἔφη, “ἔσται γάρ τι ἐκ τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης φῶς.”

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἱκανῶς εἶχε, δυοῖν ἐνδιατρίψας ἐτοῖν, ἔπλει ἐς Ἰωνίαν ξυνεπομένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἐταιρείας, καὶ τὸν μὲν πλείω χρόνον ἐφιλοσόφει περὶ τὴν Σμύρναν τε καὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἐπιὼν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν πόλεων ἀηδὴς εἶναι δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποθεῖσθαι ἄξιος καὶ κέρδος μέγα τοῖς δεξιοῖς.

XXV

CAP. XXV Ἐώθουν δὲ οἱ θεοὶ Δομετιανὸν ἤδη τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων προεδρίας. ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ Κλήμεντα ἀπεκτονῶς ἄνδρα ὑπάτον, ᾧ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐδεδώκει, πρόσταγμα δ' ἐπεποιήτο περὶ τὴν τρίτην ἢ τετάρτην ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου κακέλευν ἑς ἀνδρὸς φοιτᾶν. Στέφανος τοίνυν ἀπελευθερος τῆς γυναικός, ὃν ἐδήλου τὸ τῆς διοσημίας σχῆμα, εἴτε τὸν τεθνεῶτα ἐνθυμηθείς, εἴτε πάντας, ὥρμησε μὲν ἴσα τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον· ξίφος δ' ὑφείρας

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

everything. "Be of good cheer," said Apollonius, CHAP.
"for there will be some light following such a night XXIII
as this."

XXIV

AFTER this, seeing that he had had enough of the CHAP.
people of Hellas, after living for two years among XXIV
them, he set sail for Ionia, accompanied by his society; Quits Hellas
and the greater part of his time he spent teaching for
philosophy at Smyrna and Ephesus, though he also Ionia
visited the rest of the cities; and in none of them
was he found to be an unwelcome guest, indeed they
all considered him to be worth their regret when he
left them, and to the better class of people he was a
great boon.

XXV

AND now the gods were about to cast down CHAP.
Domitian from his presidency of mankind. For it XXV
happened that he had just slain Clemens, a man Stephanus
of consular rank, to whom he had lately given his assassinated
own sister in marriage; and he issued a command Domitian
about the third or fourth day after the murder,
that she also should follow her husband and join
him. Thereupon Stephanus, a freed man of the
lady, he who was signified by the form of the
late portent, whether because the latest victim's
fate rankled in his mind, or the fate of all others,
made an attempt upon the tyrant's life worthy
of comparison with the feats of the champions of
Athenian liberty. For he concealed a dagger

CAP.
XXV

τῷ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πήχει, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιδέσμοις ἀναλαβὼν οἶον κατεαγυῖαν, ἀπιόντι τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθὼν, “δέομαί σου,” ἔφη, “βασιλεῦ, μόνου, μεγάλη γάρ, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀκούσῃ. οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαντος δὲ τοῦ τυράννου τὴν ἀκρόασιν, ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα, οὐ τὰ βασίλεια, “οὐ τέθνηκεν,” εἶπεν, “ὁ πολεμιώτατός σοι Κλήμης, ὡς σὺ οἶει, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν οὐ ἐγὼ οἶδα, καὶ ξυντάττει ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ σέ.” μέγα δ’ αὐτοῦ βοήσαντος περὶ ὧν ἤκουσε, τεταραγμένῳ προσπεσὼν ὁ Στέφανος, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τῆς ἐσκευασμένης χειρὸς ἀνασπάσας, διῆκε τοῦ μηροῦ πρὸς μὲν τὸν αὐτίκα θάνατον οὐ καιρίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄκαιρον. ὁ δ’ ἐρρωμένος μὲν καὶ ἄλλως τὸ σῶμα, γεγωνὼς δὲ περὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ξυνεπλάκη τρωθεῖς, καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸν Στέφανον ἐπέκειτο, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀρύττων καὶ τὰς παρειὰς ξυντρίβων πυθμένι χρυσῆς κύλικος αὐτοῦ κειμένης περὶ τὰ ἱερά, ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν ἀρωγόν. συνέντες οὖν οἱ δορυφόροι κακῶς πράττοντος ἐσῆλθον ἀθρόοι, καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἀπέκτειναν λιποθυμοῦντα ἤδη.

XXVI

CAP.
XXVI

Ταῦτ’ ἐπράττετο μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐωρᾶτο δ’ Ἀπολλωνίῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἑφεσον. διαλεγόμενος

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

against his left fore-arm, and carrying his hand in a bandage, as if it were broken, he approached the Emperor as he left the law-court, and said: "I would have a private interview with you, my prince, for I have important news to communicate to you." The latter did not refuse him the audience, but took him apart into the men's apartment where he transacted business of state. Whereupon the assassin said; "Your bitter enemy, Clement, is not dead, as you imagine, but he lives and I know where he is; and he is making ready to attack you." When the Emperor uttered a loud cry over this information, before he could recover his composure, Stephanus threw himself upon him and drawing the dagger from the hand which he had trussed up, he stabbed him in the thigh, inflicting a wound which was not immediately mortal, though it was well timed in view of the struggle which followed. The Emperor was still strong and full of bodily vigour, although he was about five and forty years of age; and in spite of the wound he closed with his assailant, and throwing him down, kneeled upon him and dug out his eyes and crushed his cheeks with the stand of a gold cup which lay thereby for use in sacred ceremonies, at the same time calling upon Athene to assist him. Thereupon his body-guard, realising that he was in distress, rushed into the room pell-mell, and despatched the tyrant, who had already swooned.

CHAP.
XXV

XXVI

ALTHOUGH this deed was done in Rome, Apollonius was a spectator of it in Ephesus. For about midday

CHAP.
XXVI

CAP.
XXVI

γὰρ περὶ τὰ τῶν ξυστῶν ἄλση κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγίγνετο, πρῶτον μὲν ὑφῆκε τῆς φωνῆς, οἷον δείσας, εἶπ' ἑλλιπέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἡρμήνευσεν ἴσα τοῖς μεταξὺ λόγων διορῶσί τι ἕτερον, εἶτα ἐσιώπησεν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν λόγων ἐκπεσόντες, βλέψας τε δεινὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ προβάς τρία ἢ τέτταρα τῶν βημάτων, “παῖε τὸν τύραννον, παῖε,” ἐβόα, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐκ κατόπτρου τινὸς εἶδωλον ἀληθείας ἔλκων, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ὁρῶν καὶ ξυλλαμβάνειν δοκῶν τὰ δρώμενα. ἐκπεπληγμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου, παρῆν γὰρ διαλεγομένῳ πᾶσα, ἐπισχὼν ὅσον οἱ διορῶντες, ἔστ' ἂν γένηται τι τῶν ἀμφιβόλων τέλος, “θαρρεῖτε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ γὰρ τύραννος ἀπέσφакται τήμερον. τί λέγω τήμερον; ἄρτι, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἄρτι, περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ῥημάτων, οἷς ἐπεσιώπησα.” μανίαν δὲ ταῦθ' ἡγουμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον, καὶ βουλομένων μὲν ἀληθεύειν αὐτόν, δεδιότων δὲ τὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως κίνδυνον, “οὐ θαυμάζω” ἔφη, “τῶν μήπω προσδεχομένων τὸν λόγον, ὃν μηδ' ἡ Ῥώμη γιγνώσκει πᾶσα· ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ γιγνᾶσκει, διαφοιτᾷ γάρ, καὶ πιστεύουσι μὲν ἤδη μύριοι, πηδῶσι δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς δις τόσοι καὶ διπλάσιοι τούτων καὶ τετραπλάσιοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

he was delivering an address in the groves of the colonnade, just at the moment when it all happened in the palace at Rome; and first he dropped his voice, as if he were terrified, and then, though with less vigour than was usual with him, he continued his exposition, like one who between his words caught glimpses of something foreign to his subject, and at last he lapsed into silence, like one who has been interrupted in his discourse. And with an awful glance at the ground, and stepping forward three or four paces from his pulpit, he cried: "Smite the tyrant, smite him,"—not like one who derives from some looking-glass a faint image of the truth, but as one who sees things with his own eyes, and is taking part in a tragedy. All Ephesus, for all Ephesus was at his lecture, was struck dumb with astonishment; but he, pausing like those who are trying to see and wait until their doubts are ended, said: "Take heart, gentlemen, for the tyrant has been slain this day; and why do I say to-day? Now it is, by Athene, even now at the moment I uttered my words, and then lapsed into silence." The inhabitants of Ephesus thought that this was a fit of madness on his part; and although they were anxious that it should be true, yet they were anxious about the risk they ran in giving ear to his words, whereupon he added: "I am not surprised at those who do not yet accept my story, for not even all Rome as yet is cognizant of it. But behold, Rome begins to know it: for the rumour runs this way and that, and, thousands now are convinced of it; and they begin to leap for joy, twice as many as before, and twice as many as they, and four times as many, yea the whole of the populace there. And this

CHAP.

XXVI

Apollonius
witnesses
the deed
though in
Ephesus

CAP.
XXVI ἐκείνη δῆμοι. ἀφίξεται τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ δεῦρο,
καὶ τὸ μὲν θύειν ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβλήσθω ἐς
καιρόν, ὃν ἀπαγγεληθήσεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δὲ εἴμι
προσευξόμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶδον.”

XXVII

CAP.
XXVII Ἐτ' ἀπιστουμένων τούτων, ἦλθον οἱ τῶν εὐαγ-
γελίων δρόμοι, μάρτυρες τῆς σοφίας τοῦ ἀνδρός,
καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τυράννου σφαγή, καὶ ἡ τοῦτο ἐνεγ-
κούσα ἡμέρα, καὶ ἡ μεσημβρία, καὶ οἱ κτείνοντες,
πρὸς οὓς ἡ παρακέλευσις, οὕτως εἶχει, ὥς οἱ θεοὶ
τούτων ἕκαστα διαλεγόμενῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀνέφαινον.

Τριάκοντα δ' ἡμέραις μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐπιστείλαντος
αὐτῷ τοῦ Νερούα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἤδη τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων ἔχειν θεῶν τε βουλαῖς κακείνου, κατασχεῖν
δ' ἂν αὐτὴν ῥᾶον, εἰ ξύμβουλος αὐτῷ ἔλθοι, τὸ
μὲν αὐτίκα ἐκείνο γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν αἴνιγμα·
“ ξυνεσόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χρόνον ἀλλήλοις πλείσ-
τον, ὃν μήτε ἡμεῖς ἑτέρου, μήτ' ἄλλος ἡμῶν ἄρξει,”
συνιείς ἴσως ἑαυτοῦ τε, ὥς μετ' οὐ πολὺ μεταστη-
σομένου ἀνθρώπων, Νερούα τε, ὥς χρόνον βραχὺν
ἄρξοντος, ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ καὶ μῆνας τέτταρας
τὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ προὔβη σωφρονεστάτῳ
δόξαντι.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

news will travel hither also ; and although I would have you defer your sacrifices in honour thereof to the fitting season, when you will receive this news, I shall proceed at once to pray to the gods for what I have seen.”

CHAP.
XXVI

XXVII

THEY were still sceptical, when swift runners arrived with the good news, and bore testimony to the sage's wisdom ; for the tyrant's murder, and the day which brought the event to birth, the hour of mid-day and the murderers to whom he addressed his exhortation, everything agreed with the revelation which the gods had made to Apollonius in the midst of his harangue.

CHAP.
XXVII

And thirty days later Nerva sent a letter to him to say that he was already in possession of the Empire of the Romans, thanks to the good-will of the gods and to his good counsels ; and he added that he would more easily retain it, if Apollonius would come to advise him. Whereupon at the moment the latter wrote to him the following enigmatical sentence : “ We will, my prince, enjoy one another's company for a very long time during which neither shall we govern others, nor others us.” Perhaps he realised, when he wrote thus, that it was not to be long before he himself should quit this human world, and that Nerva was only to retain the throne for a short time ; for his reign lasted but one year and four months, when he left behind him the reputation of having been a sober and serious ruler.

Nerva
accedes and
invites the
sage to
Rome

XXVIII

CAP.
XXVIII

Ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀμελῶν φαίνοιτο φίλου τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος, ξυνέθηκε μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ξύμβουλον τῶν ἀρχικῶν, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν, “σοῦ” ἔφη, “δεῖται ταῦτα, τὰ γὰρ ἀπόρρητα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς γέγραπται μὲν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἔστι δ’ οἷα ἢ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ λέγεσθαι ἢ διὰ σοῦ.” καὶ ὁψὲ ὁ Δάμις ξυνεῖναί φησι τῆς τέχνης, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστολήν ἄριστά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ξυγγεγράφθαι, πεμφθῆναι δ’ ἂν καὶ δι’ ἑτέρου. τίς οὖν ἡ τέχνη τοῦ ἀνδρός; πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἐβίω, λέγεται θαμὰ ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι, “λάθε βιώσας, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιο, λάθε ἀποβιώσας.” ἀπάγων οὖν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Δάμιν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ μάρτυσι καταλύοι, τὴν ἐπιστολήν ἐσκήψατο καὶ τὸ ἀναφοιτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ παθεῖν τι ἀπιὼν αὐτοῦ φησιν, οὐδὲ εἰδὼς τὰ μέλλοντα, τὸν δ’ εὖ εἰδότα μηδὲν μὲν οἱ εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ μηκέτ’ ἀλλήλους ὀψόμενοι, τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιεῖναι τοῦ πεπεῖσθαι, ὅτι ἀεὶ ἔσται, παρεγγυῆσαι δὲ ὧδε· “ὦ Δάμι, κὰν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ φιλοσοφῆς, ἐμὲ ὄρα.”

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXVIII

BUT as he did not wish to seem to neglect so good a friend and ruler, he composed later on for him a letter giving him advice about matters of state; and calling Damis to him, he said: "You are wanted here, for this letter which I have written to the king contains secrets, and though it is written, they are of such a kind that they must be communicated orally either by myself or through you." And Damis declares that he only understood his master's device much later; for that the letter was composed in admirable style, and though it treated of important subjects, yet it might equally well have been sent through anyone else. What then was the sage's device? All through his life, he is said often to have exclaimed: "Live unobserved, and if that cannot be, slip unobserved from life." His letter, then, and Damis' visit to Rome were of the nature of an excuse for getting the latter out of the way, in order that he might have no witnesses of his dissolution. Damis accordingly says that, though he was much affected at leaving him, in spite of his having no knowledge of what was coming, yet Apollonius, who knew full well, said nothing of it to him, and far from addressing him after the manner of those who are never to see one another again, so abundant was his conviction that he would exist for ever, merely pledged him in these words: "O Damis, even if you have to philosophise by yourself, keep your eyes upon me."

CHAP.
XXVIII
Apollonius
refuses,
but sends
him a letter
by Damis

XXIX

CAP.
XXIX

Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τυανέα Δάμιδι τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένα ἐς τόνδε τὸν λόγον τελευτᾷ, περὶ γὰρ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν ἐτελεύτα, εἶγε ἐτελεύτα, πλείους μὲν λόγοι, Δάμιδι δὲ οὐδεὶς εἴρηται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο χρή παραλελείφθαι, δεῖ γάρ πον τὸν λόγον ἔχειν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πέρας. οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἡλικίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴρηται οὐδὲν τῷ Δάμιδι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα, τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πρόσω τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἀκέραιος ὢν πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄρτιος, νεότητος δὲ ἡδίων. ἔστι γάρ τις ὥρα καὶ περὶ ῥυτίσιν, ἣ μάλιστα περὶ ἐκείνον ἥνθησεν, ὥς εἰκόνες τε δηλοῦσι τὸν ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῷ Τυανάδε ἱερῷ καὶ λόγοι μᾶλλον ὑμνοῦντες τὸ Ἀπολλωνίου γῆρας ἢ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου ποτὲ νεότητα.

XXX

CAP.
XXX

Τελευτῆσαι δ' αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ θεραπευόμενον ὑπὸ δυοῖν δμωαῖν, τεθνάναι γὰρ ἤδη οἱ ἀπελευθέροι, περὶ ὧν κατ' ἀρχὰς εἶπον, ἐλευθερώσαντα δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν, αἰτίαν πρὸς τῆς ἑτέρας ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡξίωτο, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον, “καὶ δουλεῦσαι,” φάναι, “προσθήκει σὲ αὐτῇ, τουτὶ γάρ σοι ἀγαθοῦ ἄρξει.” τελευτήσαντος οὖν ἢ μὲν

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXIX

THE memoirs then of Apollonius of Tyana which Damis the Assyrian composed, end with the above story; for with regard to the manner in which he died, if he did actually die, there are many stories, though Damis has repeated none. But as for myself I ought not to omit even this, for my story should, I think, have its natural ending. Neither has Damis told us anything about the age of our hero; but there are some who say that he was eighty, others that he was over ninety, others again who say that his age far exceeded a hundred. He was fresh in all his body and upright, when he died, and more agreeable to look at than in his youth. For there is a certain beauty even in wrinkles, which was especially conspicuous in his case, as is clear from the likenesses of him which are preserved in the temple at Tyana, and from accounts which praise the old age of Apollonius more than was once praised the youth of Alcibiades.

CHAP.

XXIX

Age reached
by Apol-
lonius

XXX

Now there are some who relate that he died in Ephesus, tended by two maid servants; for the freed-men of whom I spoke at the beginning of my story were already dead. One of these maids he emancipated, and was blamed by the other one for not conferring the same privilege upon her, but Apollonius told her that it was better for her to remain the other's slave, for that that would be the beginning of her well-being. Accordingly after his death

CHAP.

XXX

Tales of his
death, in
Ephesus

CAP.
XXX

δουλεύειν ἐκείνῃ, ἢ δ' ἐκ μικρᾶς αἰτίας ἀποδόσθαι αὐτὴν καπήλῳ, παρ' οὗ πρίασθαί τις οὐδ' εὐπρεπῇ οὔσαν, ἀλλ' ἐρῶν οὗτος καὶ χρηματιστῆς ἱκανὸς ὢν, γυναικὰ τε ἀνειπεῖν καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγγράψαι.

Οἱ δ' ἐν Λίνδῳ τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, παρελθόντα ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ἔσω ἀφανισθέντα· οἱ δ' ἐν Κρήτῃ φασὶ θαυμασιώτερον ἢ οἱ ἐν Λίνδῳ· διατρίβειν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τούτου θαυμαζόμενον, ἀφικέσθαι δ' ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δικτύνης ἁωρί. φυλακὴ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ κυνῶν ἐπιτέτακται, φρουροὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ πλούτου, καὶ ἀξιούσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Κρήτες μήτε τῶν ἄρκτων μήτε τῶν ὧδε ἀγρίων λείπεσθαι, οἱ δ' οὐθ' ὑλακτεῖν ἤκοντα σαίνειν τε αὐτὸν προσιόντες, ὥς μηδὲ τοὺς ἄγαν ἐθάδας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προῖστάμενοι ξυλλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὥς γόητα καὶ ληστὴν δῆσαι, μείλιγμα τοῖς κυσὶ προβεβλήσθαι τι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φάσκοντες· ὁ δ' ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἑαυτὸν λῦσαι, καλέσας δὲ τοὺς δῆσαντας, ὥς μὴ λάθοι, δραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ θύρας, αἱ δ' ἀνεπετάσθησαν, παρελθόντος δὲ ἔσω τὰς μὲν θύρας ξυνελθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐκέκλειντο, βοήν δὲ ἀδουσῶν παρθένων ἐκπесεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἄσμα ἦν “στεῖχε γᾶς, στεῖχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στεῖχε.” οἶον· ἴθι ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἄνω.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

this one continued to be the slave of the other, who for some insignificant reason sold her to a merchant, from whom she was purchased. Her new master, although she was not good-looking, nevertheless fell in love with her; and being a fairly rich man, made her his legal wife and had legitimate children by her.

CHAP.
XXX

Others again say that he died in Lindus, where he entered the temple of Athene and disappeared within it. Others again say that he died in Crete in a much more remarkable manner than the people of Lindus relate. For they say that he continued to live in Crete, where he became a greater centre of admiration than ever before, and that he came to the temple of Dictynna late at night. Now this

or in
Lindus

or Crete

temple is guarded by dogs, whose duty it is to watch over the wealth deposited in it, and the Cretans claim that they are as good as bears or any other animals equally fierce. None the less, when he came, instead of barking, they approached him and fawned upon him, as they would not have done even with people they knew familiarly. The guardians of the shrine arrested him in consequence, and threw him in bonds as a wizard and a robber, accusing him of having thrown to the dogs some charmed morsel. But about midnight he loosened his bonds, and after calling those who had bound him, in order that they might witness the spectacle, he ran to the doors of the temple, which opened wide to receive him; and when he had passed within they closed afresh, as if they had been shut, and there was heard a chorus of maidens singing from within the temple, and their song was this: "Hasten thou from earth, hasten thou to Heaven, hasten." In other words: "Do thou go upwards from earth."

Story of his
assumption
into heaven

CAP.
XXXI

Περὶ ψυχῆς δέ, ὡς ἀθάνατος εἴη, ἐφιλοσόφει
 ἔτι, διδάσκων μὲν, ὅτι ἀληθὴς ὁ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λόγος,
 πολυπραγμονεῖν δὲ μὴ ξυγχωρῶν τὰ ὧδε μεγάλα·
 ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰ Τύανα μειράκιον θρασὺ
 περὶ τὰς ἔριδας καὶ μὴ ξυντιθέμενον ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ.
 τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἤδη ὄντος,
 θαυμαζομένου δ' ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ καὶ μὴδ' ἀντι-
 λέξαι θαρροῦντος μηδενός, ὡς οὐκ ἀθάνατος εἴη,
 λόγοι μὲν οἱ πλείους ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ
 γὰρ νεότης τις ἦν αὐτόθι σοφίας ἐρῶντες, τὸ δὲ
 μειράκιον οὐδαμῶς τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίᾳ ξυντι-
 θέμενον, “ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “ὦ παρόντες, τουτονὶ μῆνα
 δέκατον Ἀπολλωνίῳ διατελῶ εὐχόμενος ἀναφῆναί
 μοι τὸν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς λόγον, ὁ δ' οὕτω τέθηκεν,
 ὡς μὴδ' ἐφίστασθαι δεομένῳ, μὴδ', ὡς ἀθάνατος
 εἴη, πείθειν.” τοιαῦτα μὲν τὸ μειράκιον τότε,
 πέμπτη δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρας περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
 σπουδάσαν, κατέδαρθε μὲν οὐ διελέγετο, τῶν δὲ
 ξυσπουδαζόντων νέων οἱ μὲν πρὸς βιβλίοις ἦσαν,
 οἱ δ' ἐσπούδαζον γεωμετρικοὺς ἐπιχαράττοντες
 τύπους τῇ γῇ, τὸ δ', ὥσπερ ἐμμανές, ἀναπηδῆσαν
 ὠμόνυπον, ἰδρῶτί τε πολλῷ ἐρρεῖτο καὶ ἐβόα,
 “πείθομαί σοι.” ἐρομένων δ' αὐτὸ τῶν παρόντων,
 ὅ τι πέπονθεν, “οὐχ ὀράτε,” ἔφη, “ὕμεῖς Ἀπολ-
 λώνιον τὸν σοφόν, ὡς παρατυγχάνει τε ἡμῖν,

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

XXXI

AND even after his death he continued to preach that the soul is immortal; but although he taught this account of it to be correct, yet he discouraged men from meddling in such high subjects. For there came to Tyana a youth who did not shrink from acrimonious discussions, and would not accept truth in argument. Now Apollonius had already passed away from among men, but people still wondered at his passing, and no one ventured to dispute that he was immortal. This being so, the discussions were mainly about the soul, for a band of youths were there passionately addicted to wisdom. The young man in question, however, would on no account allow the tenet of the immortality of the soul, and said: "I myself, gentlemen, have done nothing now for over nine months but pray to Apollonius that he would reveal to me the truth about the soul; but he is so utterly dead that he will not appear to me in response to my entreaties, nor give me any reason to consider him immortal." Such were the young man's words on that occasion, but on the fifth day following, after discussing the same subject, he fell asleep where he was talking with them, and of the young men who were studying with him, some were reading books, and others were industriously drawing geometrical figures on the ground, when on a sudden, like one possessed, he leapt up from an uneasy sleep, streaming with perspiration, and cried out: "I believe thee." And, when those who were present asked him what was the matter; "Do you not see," said he, "Apollonius the sage, how that he is present

CHAP.

XXXI

The Sage
after death
convinces a
doubting
apostle of
his own
immortality
and of that
of other
souls

CAP.
XXXI

ἐπακροώμενος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ῥαψῳδεῖ
θανμάσια ;” “ ποῦ δ’ οὗτος ;” ἔφασαν, “ ὥς ἡμῖν
γε οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται, καίτοι βουλομένοις ἂν τοῦτο
μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν.”
καὶ τὸ μειράκιον, “ ἔοικεν ἐμοὶ μόνῳ διαλεξόμενος
ἦκειν ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ ἐπίστευον· ἀκούετ’ οὖν, οἷα τῷ
λόγῳ ἐπιθειάζει·

ἀθάνατος ψυχὴ κοῦ χρήμα σόν, ἀλλὰ προνοίας,
ἢ μετὰ σῶμα μαραινθέν, ἅτ’ ἐκ δεσμῶν θεοῶς
ἵππος,

ῥηιδίως προθοροῦσα κεράννυται ἡέρι κούφῳ,
δεινὴν καὶ πολὺτλητον ἀποστέρξασα λατρείην·
σοὶ δὲ τί τῶνδ’ ὄφελος, ὃ ποτ’ οὐκέτ’ ἐὼν τότε
δόξεις ;

ἢ τί μετὰ ζῳοῖσιν ἐὼν περὶ τῶνδε ματεύεις ;”

καὶ σαφὴς οὗτος Ἀπολλωνίου τρίπους ἔστηκεν
ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπορρήτων, ἵν’ εὖθυμοί τε
καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν εἰδότες, οἱ τάττουσι Μοῖραι,
πορευοίμεθα. τάφῳ μὲν οὖν ἢ ψευδοταφίῳ τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμοῦ προστυχῶν οἶδα, καίτοι τῆς γῆς,
ὁπόση ἐστίν, ἐπελθὼν πλείστην, λόγοις δὲ παν-
ταχοῦ δαιμονίοις, καὶ ἱερὰ Τύανάδε βασιλείους
ἐκπεποιημένα τέλεσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἀπηξίου-
ν αὐτὸν ὧν αὐτοὶ ἡξιοῦντο.

LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK VIII

with us and is listening to our discussion, and is reciting wondrous verses about the soul? "But where is he?" they asked, "For we cannot see him anywhere, although we would rather do so than possess all the blessings of mankind." And the youth replied: "It would seem that he is come to converse with myself alone concerning the tenets which I would not believe. Listen therefore to the inspired argument which he is delivering:

"The soul is immortal, and 'tis no possession of thine own, but of Providence,

"And after the body is wasted away, like a swift horse freed from its traces,

"It lightly leaps forward and mingles itself with the light air,

"Loathing the spell of harsh and painful servitude which it has endured.

"But for thee, what use is there in this? Some day when thou art no more thou shalt believe it.

"So why, as long as thou art among living beings, dost thou explore these mysteries?"

Here we have a clear utterance of Apollonius, established like an oracular tripod, to convince us of the mysteries of the soul, to the end that cheerfully, and with due knowledge of our own true nature, we may pursue our way to the goal appointed by the Fates. With any tomb, however, or cenotaph of the sage I never met, that I know of, although I have traversed most of the earth, and have listened everywhere to stories of his divine quality. And his shrine at Tyana is singled out and honoured with royal officers: for neither have the Emperors denied to him the honours of which they themselves were held worthy.

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS
OF TYANA

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΤΑΝΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

α'.—Εὐφράτη.

Ἐμοὶ πρὸς φιλοσόφους ἐστὶ φιλία, πρὸς μέντοι σοφιστὰς ἢ γραμματιστὰς ἢ τι τοιοῦτο γένος ἕτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων, οὔτε νῦν ἔστι φιλία, μήτε ὕστερόν ποτε γένοιτο. τάδε μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς σέ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων εἷς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρὸς σέ· θεράπευέ σου τὰ πάθη, καὶ πειρῶ φιλόσοφος εἶναι, καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τοῖς ὄντως φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ σοι καὶ γήρας ἤδη πλησίον καὶ θάνατος.

β'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἡ ἀρετὴ φύσει κτήσει χρήσει, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον ἀν εἴη τῶν προειρημένων ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον. σκεπτέον, εἴ τί σοι τούτων ἐστίν, ἢ σοφιστείας παυστέον λοιπόν, ἢ προῖκά γε χρηστέον αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἐπεὶ περ ἤδη σοι καὶ τὰ Μεγαβύζου.

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

I.—TO EUPHRATES.

As for myself I am on friendly terms with philosophers; with sophists however or low clerks or any such other kind of wretches, I am neither on friendly terms now, and Heaven forbid I should ever be so at any later time. Although this does not apply to you, unless indeed you chance to be one of them, the following words do very much apply to you: heal and remedy your passions, and try to be a philosopher, and not to be jealous of those who really are such, for in your case old age is already at hand and death.

II.—TO THE SAME.

FORASMUCH as virtue cometh by nature, by acquirement, by use, each of these may be held to be worthy of acceptation. See then whether you have any one of them, and either give up the teaching of wisdom for the future or at least communicate it freely and for nothing to those who associate with you, for you already have the riches of Megabyzes.

γ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐπὴλθες ἔθνη τὰ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ Συρίας ἀρξάμενος, ἐπιδεικνὺς σεαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως λεγομέναις. διπλῇ δέ σοι τότε καὶ πώγων λευκὸς καὶ μέγας, πλέον δὲ οὐδέν. εἶτα πῶς διὰ θαλάττης νῦν ὑποστρέφεις ἄγων φορτίδα μεστήν ἀργυρίου, χρυσίου, σκευῶν παντοδαπῶν, ἐσθήτων ποικίλων, κόσμου τοῦ λοιποῦ, τύφου καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ κακοδαιμονίας; τίς ὁ φόρτος καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς καινῆς ἐμπορίας; Ζήνων τραγημάτων ἦν ἔμπορος.

δ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ὀλίγων δεῖ σοῦ τοῖς παισίν, εἰ φιλοσόφου παῖδες εἴησαν. ἔδει μὲν οὖν μηδὲ φροντίσαι πλείω σοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἱκανῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ ἀδοξίας τινός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐγένετο, δεύτερον ἂν εἴη μεγάλη σπουδῇ νεῖμαί σε τισὶ ἔνια τῶν ὄντων· ἔχεις δὲ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους.

ε'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων ὁ περὶ ἡδονῆς οὐδενὸς ἔτι συνηγόρου δεῖται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς, πέφηνε γὰρ ὢν καὶ κατὰ τὴν στοὰν ἀληθέστατος. εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγων προκομιεῖς

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III.—TO THE SAME.

You have visited the countries that lie between me and Italy, beginning from Syria, parading yourself in the so-called royal cities. And you had a philosopher's doublet all the time, and a long white beard, but besides that nothing. And now how comes it that you are returning by sea with a full cargo of silver, of gold, of vases of all sorts, of embroidered raiment, of every other sort of ornament, not to mention overweening pride, and boasting and unhappiness? What cargo is this, and what the purport of these strange purchases? Zeno never purchased but dried fruits.

IV.—TO THE SAME

You would need little for your servants, if only they were servants of a philosopher. Nay, you should not even think of purchasing more than you really want, especially as you incur some ill-fame thereby. But since you have once made the mistake, the next best thing would be if you made as much haste as possible to give away some of what you have to others. You will still retain both your fatherland and your friends.

V.—TO THE SAME.

THERE is no need henceforth for any inmate of his garden, or follower of his school to plead the merit of one of the discourses of Epicurus which is entitled: "About Pleasure." For a genuine advocate thereof has turned up in the Porch itself. But if by way of

τὰς Χρυσίππου σχολὰς καὶ δόγματα, γέγραπται
τι καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμμασιν· Εὐφράτης
ἔλαβε καὶ πάλιν ἔλαβεν· Ἐπίκουρος δὲ οὐκ ἂν
ἔλαβεν.

ς'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἡρόκην πλουσίους τινάς, εἰ πικραίνονται. τί
δ' οὐ μέλλομεν; ἔφασάν, ἡρόκην οὖν καὶ τὴν
αἰτίαν τῆς ἀνάγκης. καὶ ἡτιῶντο τὸν πλοῦτον.
σὺ δ', ὦ τάλαν, νεόπλουτος.

ζ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐὰν ὅτι τάχος εἰς Αἰγὰς ἀφίκη καὶ κενώσης
ἐκεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ἰτέον ἐστὶ σοι πάλιν ὅτι τάχος εἰς
τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ κολακευτέον ὁμοίως νοσοῦντας,
γέροντας, γραῦς, ὀρφανούς, πλουσίους, θρυπτομέν-
ους, Μίδας, Γέτας. πάντα φασὶ δεῖν τὸν ἔμπορον
κάλῳ σείειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἴη τὴν ἀλιὰν τρυπᾶν ἐν
Θέμιδος οἴκῳ.

η'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἄρά τι καὶ σὺ γράψαιο ἄν; εἰ γὰρ οὕτω
γένοιο γενναῖος. καὶ ἔχοις δ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τὰ συνήθη
ταῦτα καὶ πρόχειρα· “λουτρὸν ἅπαν Ἀπολ-
λώνιος παραιτεῖται.” καὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὐδέποτε

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contradiction you should bring out the lectures and tenets of Chrysippus, let me point out to you a certain passage in the Emperor's correspondence, namely this: "Euphrates has taken money of me and has taken it a second time. Now Epicurus would never have taken it."

VI.—TO THE SAME.

I LATELY asked some rich men, if they foster such bitter feelings. And they answered: "How can we do otherwise?" So I asked them what was the reason of their duress, and they blamed their wealth. But you, my poor wretch, only acquired your wealth yesterday.

VII.—TO THE SAME.

As soon as you have reached Aegae in your hurry, and discharged your ship there, you have to return again post-haste to Italy, where you must fawn as usual upon the sick, the old men, old women, orphans, rich men, dandies, Midas, Getae. For they say that a merchant must let out every reef. For myself, I would rather clear out the salt-cellar in the house of Themis.

VIII.—TO THE SAME.

PERHAPS then you would like to draw up a little indictment of me? I only wish you had the pluck to do so. And you would be able to repeat these hackneyed and obvious accusations: "Apollonius utterly declines to take a bath." Yes, and what's

πρόεισι καὶ σωζομένους ἔχει τοὺς πόδας. “οὐδὲν ὀράται τῶν τοῦ σώματος κινῶν.” δι’ ὅλου γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν κινεῖ. “κομᾷ τὴν κεφαλὴν.” καὶ γὰρ ὁ “Ἕλληνα, ὅτι Ἕλληνα καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος. “ἐσθῆτα φορεῖ λινὴν.” καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τὰ καθαρώτατα. “μαντικῇ χρῆται.” πλείω γὰρ τὰ ἄδηλα, καὶ ἄλλως ἀμήχανον προαισθῆσθαι τι τῶν ἐσομένων. “ἀλλ’ οὐ πρόπον φιλοσόφῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον.” ὁ πρόπει καὶ θεῶ. “καὶ σωμάτων δὲ ὀδύνας ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ πάθη παύει.” τοῦτό που καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν κοινὸν τὸ ἔγκλημα. “σιτεῖται μόνος.” οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐσθίουσι. “βραχεὰ λέγει καὶ ἐπὶ βραχύ.” σιγῆσαι γάρ ἐστιν οὐκ ἀδύνατος. “σαρκῶν ἀπέχεται πασῶν καὶ θηρίων πάντων,” διὰ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπός ἐστι. εἰ ταῦτα ἐρεῖς, Εὐφράτα, γεγράφθαι, ἴσως ἐκείνο προσθήσεις, “εἴ τι ἦν, ἔλαβεν ἂν ἀργύριον, ὡς ἐγώ, δωρεάς, πολιτείας.” εἴ τι ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν. “ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι μὲν ἔλαβεν ἂν.” οὐ πατρίς δέ, ἢ μὴ οἶδεν, ὃ ἔχει.

θ'.—Δίω νι.

Αὐλοῖς καὶ λύρα κρεῖττον ἐστὶ τέρπειν ἢ λόγῳ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς ὄργανα καὶ μουσικὴ τοῦνομα τῇ τέχνῃ, λόγος δὲ τὰληθὲς εὕρισκει. τοῦτό σοι

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more, he never quits his house and takes care never to soil his feet. "You never see him moving any part of his person." Yes, for he never moves anything except his soul. "He wears his hair long on his head." Well, and so does the Hellene, because he is a Hellene and not a barbarian. "He wears linen raiment." Yes, for this purest garb is that of priests. "He practises divination." Yes, for many are the things we know not, and there is no other way of foreseeing anything that is going to happen. "But such practices are not consonant with philosophy." Nevertheless they befit the deity. "And moreover he eases the flesh of its agonies and allays suffering." You might equally bring this charge against Asclepius. "He eats alone." Yes, and the rest of the world feed. "He uses few words and on few occasions." Yes, for he has a faculty of holding his tongue altogether. "He abstains from all flesh and from eating any animal food." That is surely a proof of his humanity. If you tell me, Euphrates, that you have put these counts into your indictment, you will probably add the following as well: "If there had been any going, he would have taken money as I have, and presents, and civil promotions." If there had been money going, he would not have taken it. "Nay, but he would have taken it for his country." Yes, but that is not one's country which knows not what it hath.

IX.—To DION.

If your object is to please, you had better employ flute and lyre than argument; for they are the instruments which are made to minister to pleasure, and the art of doing so is named music. But

πρακτέον, τοῦτό σοι ῥητέον, ἣν καὶ περὶ τούτου φιλοσοφῆς.

ί'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ζητοῦσί τινες τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν πέπαυμαι διαλεγόμενος ἐν πολλοῖς. εἰδέτωσαν οὖν, οἷς ἂν εἰδέναι μέλη τὸ τοιοῦτον· ἀδύνατος ὠφελῆσαι λόγος ἅπας, ὃς ἂν εἰς ὧν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἓνα λέγεται. ὁ τοίνυν ἄλλως διαλεγόμενος δόξης ἥττων ὧν διαλέγοιτ' ἂν.

ια'.—Καίσαρέων προβούλοις.

Πρῶτον εἰς πάντα θεῶν ἄνθρωποι δέονται καὶ περὶ παντός, ἔπειτα πόλεων, τιμητέον γὰρ δεύτερον πόλεις μετὰ θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πόλεως προκριτέον παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· εἰ δὲ μὴ πόλις μόνον εἴη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστη τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἀρίστη τε τῶν αὐτόθι μεγέθει καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ προγόνων κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρεταῖς, ἔτι τε ἤθεσι κατ' εἰρήνην, καθάπερ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις, μάλιστα πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐμοί τε θαυμαστέα τιμητέα τε καὶ ἄλλῳ δὲ ὁμοίως παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐκ λόγου κοινοῦ¹ τὸ προκριτικὸν ἂν εἴη τὸ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν πολλῶν.² ὅταν δὲ καὶ

¹ Or perhaps we should render "by ordinary reasoning."

² Perhaps we should read in the Greek προκριτικόν, ἂν ᾗ with Olearius and render "for preferring your city, if the object under comparison were an ordinary city."

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argument finds out the truth ; and at this you should aim in you actions, at this in your words, at least if you are really making a philosophic study of it.

X.—TO THE SAME.

SOME people ask the reason why I have left off giving lectures to large audiences. Let all know then, who may be interested to understand such matters : No discourse can be really useful, unless, if it be single, it be also delivered to a single individual. Anyone then who discourses in any other manner is motivated by vain glory to discourse.

XI.—TO THE CHIEF COUNCILLORS OF CAESAREA.

MEN's first need is of gods for everything and above everything ; their second of cities, for next after the gods we must honour our cities ; and if we are men of sense we prefer our cities' welfare. Now if yours were only one city of many, instead of being, as it is, the greatest in Palestine, excelling all others there in size and in laws, and in institutions and in the warlike virtues of ancestors, and still more in the arts and manners of peace, I should still see reason to admire and honour your city more than all others, and so would every man who has any sense. By common report this would be the reason for preferring your city on a comparison of it with the run of cities. But whenever a city

ἄρχῃ πόλις ποτὲ τῆς πρὸς ἓνα τιμῆς ἄνδρα, πόλις οὖσα, καὶ τοῦτον ἑαυτῆς ξένον καὶ ἄποθεν, τί ἢ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἢ ὑμῶν ἂν πρὸς τίσιν ἄξιον εἶη; τοῦτο μόνον ἴσως, εἰ θεοφιλῆς τις ὦν τύχοι διὰ τινα φύσεως ἐπιτηδειότητα, τὸ εὐχέσθαι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἀγαθὰ τυγχάνειν τε τῆς εὐχῆς, ὅπερ ἂν διατελέσαιμι κἀγὼ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἐπεὶ περ ἦσθην ἠθεσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς φαίνουσι τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων κοινῶν. Ἀπολλωνίδην δὲ τὸν Ἀφροδισίου νεανίαν ἐρρωμενεστάτης φύσεως ἀξίας τε τοῦ ὑμετέρου ὀνόματος, πειράσομαι χρήσιμον ὑμῖν παρασκευάζειν εἰς ἕκαστα μετὰ καὶ τύχης τινὸς ἀγαθῆς.

ιβ'.—Σελευκέων τοῖς προβούλοις.

Πόλις, ἣτις ἂν οὕτω πρὸς τε θεοὺς ἔχῃ καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους ἀποδοχῆς, αὐτὴ τε εὐδαίμων καὶ εἰς ἀρετὴν ὠφέλησε τοὺς μαρτυρηθέντας. ἄρξασθαι μὲν οὖν χάριτος οὐ δυσχερές, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀμοιβὴν δ' οὐ ῥάδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ὁμοίαν εὐρεῖν ἀδύνατον, τὸ γάρ που τῇ τάξει δεύτερον οὐδέποτε τῇ φύσει πρῶτον. ὥστε θεὸν ἀνάγκη παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμείψασθαι τοὺς οὐ τῇ δυνάμει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις κρείττους γενομένους, ἀνθρώπων γὰρ οὐδεὶς τά γε τηλικαῦτα δυνατός· καὶ τὸ ἐθέλῃσαι δ' ἂν με παρ' ὑμῖν

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leads the way in paying honour to a single individual, and that one who is a stranger, and comes from afar off, seeing that it is a city which honours him, what can the individual do by way of return, and what worthy repayment of yourselves is possible? This perhaps and none other: That if he is a man beloved of the gods by reason of some natural endowment, he should pray that that city may obtain all blessings, and that his prayer may be granted. This I shall never cease to do in your behalf, for I am pleased to see the manners of Hellenism revealing their own excellence, and doing it by means of public inscriptions. But as Apollonides the son of Aphrodisius is a young man of firm and constant character, and worthy to bear your name, I shall endeavour to render him of use to you in every particular, with the help of some good fortune.

XII.—TO THE CHIEF COUNCILLORS OF SELEUCIA.

WHATEVER city is so well affected as yours both towards the gods and towards such men as are worthy of acceptance, is both blessed in itself, and contributes to the excellence of those in whose favour it bears witness. Now though it is not difficult to lead the way in displaying graceful good-will, indeed it is the noblest of human acts, it is yet not easy to requite it; nay it is altogether impossible to find a true equivalent, for I imagine that what in time sequence is second, can never in nature be first. Consequently I am obliged to ask heaven to reward you who have shewn yourselves not only my superiors in ability, but also in deeds. For no man could possibly rise to such achievements as yours. It is a further proof of

γενέσθαι τῆς ὑμῶν ἂν εἴη χάριτος καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔγωγ' ἂν εὐξαίμην παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ γε-
γεννηῆσθαι. οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν τιμιώτεροι, διότι
καὶ φίλοι, Ἱερώνυμος καὶ Ζήνων.

ιγ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Στράτων μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οἷχεται, πᾶν ὅσον
ἦν αὐτῷ θνητὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καταλιπών. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς
ἔτι κολαζομένους ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε, ζῆν ἄλλως λεγο-
μένους, ἔχειν τινὰ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἐπιμέ-
λειαν. ἄλλοις μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔργον δικαίως
γένοιτο νῦν ἢ καὶ ὕστερον, οἷς μὲν ὡς οἰκείοις, οἷς
δ' ὡς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνδράσι φίλοις οὐκ ἐν ἐτέρῳ
γνωσθησομένοις χρόνῳ, τούτων εἶπερ ἦν τῶν
ὀνομάτων ἀληθές τι καὶ πρόσθεν. ἐγὼ μέντοι
καὶ ταύτῃ βουλόμενος ἐξαιρέτως ὑμέτερος εἶναι,
τὸν ἐκ Σελευκίδος υἱὸν αὐτῷ γενόμενον Ἀλέξαν-
δρον αὐτὸς ἀναθρέψω, καὶ μεταδώσω παιδείας τῆς
ἐμῆς. πάντως δ' ἂν μετέδωκα καὶ χρημάτων ὅ
τὰ μείζονα δούς, εἶπερ ἔχειν ἦν ἄξιον.

ιδ'.—Εὐφράτη.

Πυνθάνονται μου πολλοὶ πολλάκις, τίνος ἔνε-
κεν οὐ μετεπέμφθην εἰς Ἱταλίαν, ἣ οὐ μεταπεμφ-
θεὶς ἀφικόμην, ὥσπερ σὺ καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος. ἐγὼ
δὲ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρινοῦμαι, μὴ

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your gracious good-will towards me that you also wish me to visit you, as I would pray to have visited you already. Your envoys are the more precious to me, because they are already my friends, I mean Hieronymus and Zenon.

XIII.—TO THE SAME PERSONS.

STRATON has indeed passed away from among men, and has left upon earth all that he had of mortality; but we who are here, still undergoing punishment, in other words still living, ought to have some concern for his affairs. One of us then must do one thing, another another, and it is our duty to do it now rather than later; for if in the past we were some of us known as his relations, and some of us merely as his friends, now is the time to show with all sincerity that we are really such, nor must we delay doing our duty to an indefinite future, supposing these names meant anything. I myself, however, am desirous in this matter to be especially your friend, and therefore I undertake to bring up myself Alexander who was his son by Seleucis, and to impart to him my own education. And I should certainly have given him money also, who am bestowing what is so much more important, if it were right that he should receive it.

XIV.—TO EUPHRATES.

I HAVE been asked by many people on many occasions, why it is that I have never been sent for to Italy; or if I was sent for, why I did not come thither, like yourself and sundry other people. Now to the first question I shall give no answer, lest some

καὶ δόξω τισὶν εἰδέναι τὴν αἰτίαν, οὐδ' εἰδέναι μοι μέλοι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τί ἂν καὶ δεοίμην ἕτερον λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν μετεπέμφθην ἢ ἀφικόμην; ἔρρωσο.

ιε'.—τ ῶ α ὕ τ ῶ.

Τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀδέσποτον εἶναι Πλάτων ἔφησεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ τιμᾷ τοῦτό τις καὶ γέγηθεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧνιος γίνεται χρημάτων, πολλοὺς δεσπότας ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖ.

ις'.—τ ῶ α ὕ τ ῶ.

Μάγους οἷε δεῖν ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσόφους, ὧδέ που καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δεινὸς οἶμαι δεῖν ὀνομάζεσθαι μάγους, εἰ μέλλουσιν εἶναι θεῖοι τε καὶ δίκαιοι.

ιζ'.—τ ῶ α ὕ τ ῶ.

Μάγους ὀνομάζουσι τοὺς θεῖους οἱ Πέρσαι. μάγος οὖν ὁ θεραπευτὴς τῶν θεῶν ἢ ὁ τὴν φύσιν θεῖος, σὺ δ' οὐ μάγος, ἀλλ' ἄθεος.

ιη'.—τ ῶ α ὕ τ ῶ.

Ἡράκλειτος ὁ φυσικὸς ἄλογον εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν ἔφησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀληθές, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ἐγκαλυπτέος ἕκαστος ὁ ματαιῶς ἐν δόξῃ γενόμενος.

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should think that I knew the reason, whereas I am not interested to know it; but as regards the second question why need I say more than that I would rather have been sent for than go? Farewell.

XV.—TO THE SAME.

PLATO has said that true virtue recognises no master. And supposing anyone fails to honour this answer and delight therein, and instead of doing so sells himself for filthy lucre, I say that he but gives himself many masters.

XVI.—TO THE SAME.

You think it your duty to call philosophers who follow Pythagoras magicians, and likewise also those who follow Orpheus. For my own part I think that those who follow no matter whom, ought to be called magicians, if only they are determined to be divine and just men.

XVII.—TO THE SAME.

THE Persians give the name of *magi* to divine beings. A magus then is either a worshipper of the gods or one who is by nature divine. Well, you are no magus, but a man without god.

XVIII.—TO THE SAME.

HERACLITUS the natural philosopher used to say that man is by nature irrational. Well, if this be true, as it is true, then let everyone hide his face who vainly and idly is held in repute.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

ιθ'.—Σκοπελιανῷ σοφιστῇ.

Πέντε εἰσὶ σύμπαντες οἱ τοῦ λόγου χαρακτῆρες, ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὁ ἱστορικός, ὁ δικανικός, ὁ ἐπιστολικός, ὁ ὑπομνηματικός. ἐγκειμένων δὴ τῶν γενικῶν χαρακτήρων, τῇ τάξει πάλιν γίνεται πρῶτος μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου δύναμιν ἢ φύσιν ἴδιος ὢν, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ ἐν μιμήσει τοῦ ἀρίστου, τῶν ἐκ φύσεως εἴ τις ἐνδεὴς εἴη. τὸ δὲ ἄριστον δυσεῦρετόν τε καὶ δυσεπίκριτον, ὥστε οἰκειότερος ἐκάστῳ χαρακτήρ ὁ ἴδιος, ἐπεὶ περ καὶ βεβαιότερος.

κ'.—Δομετιανῷ.

Εἴ σοι δύναμις ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, καὶ φρόνησιν ἂν εἴη σοι κτητέον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ φρόνησις ἦν, δύναμις δὲ ἀπῆν, ὁμοίως ἔδει σοι δυνάμεως. δεῖται γὰρ αἰεὶ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου, ὥσπερ ὅψις φωτὸς καὶ φῶς ὄψεως.

κα'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Βαρβάρων ἀφεκτέον καὶ οὐκ ἀρκτέον αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους ὄντας εὖ πᾶσχειν.

κβ'.—Λεσβώνακτι.

Δεῖ πένεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἄνδρα, πλουτεῖν δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπον.

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XIX.—TO SCOPELIANUS, THE SOPHIST.

IN all there are five characters in rational discourse: the philosopher, the historian, the advocate, the writer of epistles, the commentator. And when these general characters have been settled, there emerges afresh in sequence of dignity, first he who is peculiar by reason of his own faculties or nature, and there comes second he who is an imitator of the best, supposing he be one of those who lack natural endowment. But the best is both difficult to find and difficult to appraise; consequently his own character is more fitting for each man to assume, so far forth as it is also more lasting.

XX.—TO DOMITIAN.

IF you have power, and you have it, then it would be well if you also acquired prudence. For supposing you to have prudence, but to lack power, you would have been equally in need of power; for the one of these ever stands in need of the other, just as the eye needs light and light the eye.

XXI.—TO THE SAME.

IT were best you should hold aloof from barbarians, and not aspire to rule them; for it is not right that they being barbarians should find in you a benefactor.

XXII.—TO LESBONAX.

You should try to be poor as an individual, but to be rich as a member of humanity.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

κγ'.—Κρίτωνι.

Τὸ θειότατον Πυθαγόρας ἰατρικὴν ἔφασκεν. εἰ δὲ ἰατρικὴ τὸ θειότατον, καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιμελητέον μετὰ σώματος, ἢ τὸ ζῶον οὐκ ἂν ὑγιαίνοι τῷ κρείττονι νοσοῦν.

κδ'.—Ἑλλανοδίκαις καὶ Ἡλείοις.

Ἀξιούτέ με τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων παραγενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέμψατε πρέσβεις. ἐγὼ δὲ παρεγενόμην ἂν ἐπὶ σωμάτων θέαν καὶ ἄμιλλαν, εἰ μὴ τὸν μείζονα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγῶνα καταλείψειν ἔμελλον.

κε'.—Πελοποννησίοις.

Ὀλύμπια τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐγένεσθε πολέμιοι, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ οὐ φίλοι.

κς'.—τοῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεηκόροις.

Θεοὶ θυσιῶν οὐ δέονται. τί οὖν ἂν τις πράττων χαρίζοιτο αὐτοῖς; φρόνησιν, ὥς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, κτώμενος, ἀνθρώπων τε τοὺς ἀξίους εἰς δύναμιν εὖ ποιῶν. ταῦτα φίλα θεοῖς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀθέων.

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XXIII.—To CRITÓ.

PYTHAGORAS has declared that the divinest thing we have is the healing art. But if the divinest thing is the healing art, then we must take care of the soul as well as of the body; for surely a living creature cannot be in sound health, if in respect of its highest element it be diseased.

XXIV.—To THE PRESIDENTS OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES AND TO THE ELIANS.

You invite me to attend the games of Olympia, and have sent me envoys to that effect. And I would come to be a spectator of your physical rivalries, if it did not involve my abandoning the greater arena of moral struggle.

XXV.—To THE PELOPONNESIANS.

THE second phase of your relations with one another were the Olympic Games, and though in the first phase you were frankly enemies, in this second you still were not friends.

XXVL.—To THE PRIESTS IN OLYMPIA.

THE gods are in no need of sacrifices. What then can one do in order to win their favour? One can, in my opinion, acquire wisdom, and, so far as one can, do good to such men as deserve it. This pleases the gods; atheists however can offer sacrifice.

κζ'.—τοῖς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερεῦσιν.

Αἷματι βωμοὺς μιαίνουσιν ἱερεῖς. εἶτα θαυμάζουσί τινες, πόθεν αἱ πόλεις ἀτυχοῦσιν, ὅταν μεγάλα δυσθετήσωσιν. ὦ τῆς ἀμαθίας. Ἡράκλειτος ἦν σοφός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος Ἐφεσίους ἔπεισε μὴ πηλῶ πηλὸν καθαίρεσθαι.

κη'.—βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν.

Ζάμολξις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος, εἴ γε μαθητῆς Πυθαγόρου ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἐκὼν αὖ ἐγένετο φίλος. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οἷε δεῖν ἀγῶνα καὶ πόνον ἔχειν, ἄκουε φιλόσοφος, τουτέστιν ἐλεύθερος.

κθ'.—νομοθέτη.

Αἱ ἐορταὶ νόσων αἰτίαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πόνους ἀνιᾶσι, τὸ ἐμπίπλασθαι δὲ αὖξουσιν.

λ'.—ταμίαις Ῥωμαίων.

Ἀρχὴν ἄρχετε πρώτην. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄρχειν ἐπίστασθε, διὰ τί τὸ παρ' ὑμᾶς χεῖρον ἑαυτῶν αἱ πόλεις ἔχουσιν; εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθε, μαθεῖν ἔδει πρῶτον, εἶτα ἄρχειν.

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XXVII.—TO THE PRIESTS IN DELPHI.

THE priests defile the altar with blood, and then some people ask in amazement why our cities are visited with calamities, when they have courted displeasure on the largest scale. O what folly and dulness! Heraclitus was wise, but not even he could persuade the Ephesians not to purge away mud with mud.

XXVIII.—TO THE KING OF THE SCYTHIANS.

ZAMOLXIS was a good man, and inasmuch as he was a disciple of Pythagoras, a philosopher. And if in his time the Roman had been such as he is now, he would have been glad to be friends with him. But if it is for freedom that you think you ought to struggle and make endeavour, make yourself known as a philosopher, that is to say as a free man.

XXIX.—TO A LEGISLATOR.

FESTIVALS lead to epidemics; for although they refresh men after their toil, they promote gluttony.

XXX.—TO THE ROMAN QUÆSTORS.

You hold the highest office of the realm. If then you understand how to govern, why are the cities incessantly declining under your régime? But if you do not understand, you ought first to learn, and then to govern.

λα'.—διοικηταῖς Ἀσίας.

Τί ὄφελος ἀγρίων δένδρων φυομένων ἐπὶ βλάβῃ
τοὺς κλάδους κόπτειν, ἔαν δὲ τὰς ρίζας;

λβ'.—Ἐφεσίων γραμματεῦσιν.

Λίθων ἐν πόλει καὶ γραφῶν ποικίλων καὶ περι-
πάτων καὶ θεάτρων οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ νοῦς
ἐνείη καὶ νόμος. νοῦς δὲ καὶ νόμος περὶ τούτων
ἐστίν, οὐ ταῦτα.

λγ'.—Μιλησίοις.

Οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν πατέρων δέονται, οἱ νέοι
γερόντων, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἄνδρες ἀρχόντων,
οἱ ἄρχοντες νόμων, οἱ νόμοι φιλοσόφων, οἱ φιλό-
σοφοι θεῶν, οἱ θεοὶ πίστεως· προγόνων ἀγαθῶν
ἐστε, τὰ παρόντα μισεῖτε.

λδ'.—τοῖς ἐν Μουσείῳ σοφοῖς.

Ἐγενόμην ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ Φωκίδι καὶ Λοκρίδι καὶ
ἐν Σικυῶνι καὶ ἐν Μεγάρῳ, καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς
ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἐπαυσάμην ἐκεῖ. τί οὖν, εἴ
τις ἔροιτο, τὸ αἴτιον; ἐγὼ φράσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν τε
καὶ Μούσαις· ἐβαρβαρώθην οὐ χρόνιος ὢν ἀφ'
Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ χρόνιος ὢν ἐν Ἑλλάδι.

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XXXI.—TO THE PROCURATORS OF ASIA.

WHAT is the use of cutting off branches of wild trees whose growth does harm, when you leave the roots alone?

XXXII.—TO THE SCRIBES OF THE EPHESIANS.

IT is no use decorating your city with statues and elaborate pictures and promenades and theatres, unless there is good sense there as well and law. For although good sense and law may accompany these, they are not the same thing.

XXXIII.—TO THE MILESIAHS.

YOUR children lack fathers, your youth lack old men, your wives husbands, your husbands rulers, your rulers laws, your laws philosophers, your philosophers gods, your gods faith. Your ancestors were good men; your present estate you may well loathe.

XXXIV.—TO THE WISE MEN IN THE MUSEUM.

I HAVE been in Argos and Phocis and Locris and in Sicyon and in Megara, and after holding public lectures in the past in those places, I have ceased to do so any more. Why so? If anyone asks me the reason, I must reply to you and to the Muses in the words of the poet: "I have been turned into a barbarian," not "by long sojourning outside Hellas," but by long sojourning in her midst.

λέ'.—Ἑστιάϊω.

Ἀρετὴ καὶ χρήματα παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐναντιώτατα, μειούμενον γὰρ τὸ ἕτερον αὖξει τὸ ἕτερον, αὐξανόμενον δὲ μειοῖ. πῶς οὖν δυνατόν ἀμφοτέρα περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι; πλὴν εἰ μὴ τῷ τῶν ἀνοήτων λόγῳ, παρ' οἷς καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ἀρετή. μὴ δὴ τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν ἀναισθητεῖν ἐπίτρεπε τοῖς αὐτόθι, μηδὲ ἕα πλουσίους ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφους. καὶ γὰρ αἴσχιστον ἀποδημεῖν ἡμᾶς διὰ χρήματα δοκεῖν, ἐνίων, ἵνα μνήμην ἑαυτῶν καταλείπωσι, μηδὲ ἀρετὴν ἀσπασαμένων.

λς'.—Κορινθίῳ Βάσσῳ.

Ἦν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ἡλθέ ποτε ξιφήρης ἐπὶ θύρας τὰς ἐμάς, ὑπὸ σοῦ σταλεῖς τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου τῶν Ἰσθμίων. τοῦ φόνου δ' ἦν μισθὸς δεδομένος ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς σου κοινωνία, καί, μιὰρὲ Βάσσε, πολλάκις εὐεργέτης ἐγενόμην σου.

λζ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Εἰ πυνθάνοιτο Κορινθίων τις, πῶς ὁ Βάσσου πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἐροῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ ἀστικοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι· φαρμάκῳ. τίνος δόντος; ἐροῦσι καὶ οἱ ὄμοροι τοῦ φιλοσόφου. καὶ ὁ μιὰρὸς τῷ πτώματι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπόμενος ἔκλαιεν.

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XXXV.—TO HESTIAEUS.

VIRTUE and wealth are with us most opposed to one another ; for a diminution of the one leads to an increase of the other, and an increase to a diminution. How then can both at once be united in the same man, except in the imagination of fools, who take wealth even for virtue ? Do not then allow men here to misunderstand me so profoundly, nor permit them to consider me rich rather than a philosopher. For I account it most disgraceful that I should be held to travel abroad in search of money, when there are some who, in order to leave a monument of themselves, have not even embraced virtue.

XXXVI.—TO BASSUS OF CORINTH.

PRAXITELES of Calchis was a madman. On one occasion he came with a drawn sword to my door ; and it was yourself who sent him, you a philosopher and president of the Isthmian games. But the reward you were to give him for murdering me was access to your own wife. And, you foul wretch, Bassus, I had on many occasions been your benefactor.

XXXVII.—TO THE SAME.

IF any Corinthian asks, what did the father of Bassus die of, everyone, citizen and sojourner in the land alike, will answer : By poison. And who administered it ? Even the neighbours will tell you : The philosopher. And this wretch wept as he followed his father's bier.

λη'.—τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

Ἀρετῆς μὲν ὑμῖν πρωτεῖον οὐκ ἔστι, ποίας γὰρ ἀρετῆς; εἰ δὲ κακίας φέρεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, πάντες ὑφ' ἐν φέρεσθε. τίνες τοῦτο φήσουσι περὶ τῶν ἐν Σάρδεσιν; οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ τῶν αὐτόθι φίλος, ὥστ' ἀρνεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὐνοίαν.

λθ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Αἰσχροὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ταγμάτων ὑμῶν. Κόδδαροι, Ξυρισίταυροι. ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις τίθεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε γίνεσθαι τούτων ἄξιοι.

μ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Κόδδαροι, καὶ Ξυρισίταυροι. Τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας πῶς ἂν προσαγορεύοιτε, τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ταγμάτων εἰσὶ καὶ αὗται, καὶ θρασύτεραι.

μα'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Οὐδὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑμῖν εὐνοεῖν εἰκός, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οἰκέται, εἰθ', ὅτι τῶν ἐναντίων ταγμάτων οἱ πλεῖστοι. κακῆνοι γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἀπὸ γένους.

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XXXVIII.—TO THE PEOPLE OF SARDIS.

You award no prizes for good qualities, for what good qualities have you? But if you were inclined to compete for the first prize in vice, you would all win it at once. Who is it that says such things about the people of Sardis? The people of Sardis themselves. For of the people there, no one is the friend of another, to the extent of denying out of good-will the most monstrous charges.

XXXIX.—TO THE SAME PEOPLE.

THE very names of your social orders are disgusting, witness the Coddari and the Xurisitauri. These are the first names you give your children, and you are lucky to be worthy of them.

XL.—TO THE SAME PEOPLE.

CODDARI, and Xurisitauri. And how are you going to call your daughters and your wives? For they too belong to the same castes, and are more froward than yourselves.

XLI.—TO THE SAME PEOPLE.

You cannot expect even your servants to be well-wishers of yourselves, firstly because they are servants, and secondly because most of them belong to castes opposed to your own. For they too, like yourselves, have their pedigrees.

μβ'.—Πλατωνικοῖς.

Ἐάν τις Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρήματα διδῶ, καὶ ὁ διδοὺς ἄξιος νομίζεται, λήψεται δεόμενος. φιλοσοφίας δὲ μισθὸν οὐ λήψεται, καὶ δέχεται.

μγ'.—τοῖς οἰησισόφοις.

Εἰ λέγει τις εἶναι γνώριμος ἐμός, λεγέτω καὶ μένειν ἔνδον, ἀπέχεσθαι λουτροῦ παντός, ζῶα μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἔδειν σάρκας, ἀπαθῆς εἶναι φθόνου κακοηθείας μίσους διαβολῆς ἔχθρας, τοῦ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὀνομάζεσθαι γένους, ἢ φυλακτέος πλάσματα φέρων τρόπου τε καὶ ἥθους καὶ λόγων ψευδῶν ἀλλοτρίου βίου πίστιν. ἔρρωσθε.

μδ'.—Ἐστιαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

Τί θαυμαστόν, εἴ με τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἰσόθεον ἡγουμένων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ θεόν, μόνη μέχρι νῦν ἡ πατρίς ἀγνοεῖ, δι' ἣν ἐξαιρέτως ἐσπούδασθα λαμπρὸς εἶναι; τουτὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὥς ὀρώ, γέγονε φανερόν, ὥς εἰμι ἀμείνων πολλῶν λόγους τε καὶ ἥθος. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἄν μου κατεγινώσκετε χαλεπὴν κατάγνωσιν ὥς ὑπομνήσεως τῇ

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XLII.—TO THE PLATONIC THINKERS.

If anyone offers money to Apollonius, and he considers the donor to be worthy, he will accept it, if he is in need; but for his philosophy he will take no reward, even though he be in want.

XLIII.—TO THOSE WHO ARE PUFFED UP WITH WISDOM.

If anyone professes to be my disciple, let his profession be that he remains within his house, that he abstains from all bathing, that he kills no living creature, nor eats flesh, that he is exempt from feelings of jealousy, of spite, of hatred, of slander, of enmity, in order to bear the name of a free man and belong to their class. For surely he must beware of carrying about a pretence of manners and character and of language which he merely feigns, in order to make others believe that he leads the life which he does not. Farewell.

XLIV.—TO HESTIAEUS, HIS BROTHER.

OTHER men regard me as the equal of the gods, and some of them even as a god, but until now my own country alone ignores me, my country for which in particular I have striven to be distinguished. What wonder is there in this? For not even on you my brothers, as I perceive, has it clearly dawned that I am superior to most men, both in my language and in my character. For otherwise how could you judge me so harshly as to need to be reminded at all of matters about which, as about no others, even

ἀρχὴν δεομένων, περὶ ὧν μόνων οὐδὲ τῶν ἀμαθε-
στάτων ἂν τις περιμείνειε διδαχθῆναι; λέγω δὲ
πατρίδος τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν. καίτοι οὐ λέληθεν
ὑμᾶς, ὡς καλῶς ἔχον ἔστι πᾶσάν τε γῆν πατρίδα
νομίζειν, καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδελφούς καὶ
φίλους, ὡς ἂν γένος μὲν ὄντας θεοῦ, μιᾶς δὲ
φύσεως, κοινωνίας δ' οὔσης λόγου τε παντὶ καὶ
πᾶσι καὶ παθῶν τῆς αὐτῆς, ὅπη γε καὶ ὅπως ἂν
τις τύχῃ γενόμενος, εἴτε βάρβαρος, εἴτε καὶ
Ἕλλην, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ
πως τὸ συγγενὲς ἀκατασόφιστον καὶ πᾶν ἀνα-
κλητικὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον. οὕτως ὁ Ὀμηρικὸς
Ὀδυσσεύς, ὥς φασιν, οὐδὲ ἀθανασίαν ὑπὸ θεᾶς
διδομένην Ἰθάκης προὔτιμήσεν. ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε τὸν
νόμον τόνδε καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων πεφοιτη-
κότα. οὐ γάρ, ὅποσον πτηνόν, καλιῶν ἀπόκοιτον
ιδίῳ, πᾶν τε βύθιον παρασύρεται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ
φέροντος, ἐπάνεισι δὲ μὴ νικηθέν, θηρία μὲν γὰρ
οὔτε λιμὸς οὔτε κόρος ἔπεισεν ἔξω φωλεῶν μέναι,
εἷνα τούτων ἡ φύσις ἠνεγκεν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα
σοφὸν λεγόμενον, ᾧ καὶ πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ γῆ πᾶσα
παρέχῃ, μνήματα οὐκ ἔχει δεῖξαι τὰ πατέρων.

μέ.—τ ῶ α ὕ τ ῶ.

Εἰ τῶν ὄντων τὸ τιμιώτατον φιλοσοφία, πεπι-
στεύμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς ὑπο-
λαμβανοίμεθα μισάδελφοι, καὶ ταῦτα δι' αἰτίας

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the dullest persons are likely to resent instruction, to wit about country and brethren? Nevertheless you must be aware that it is a noble thing to regard the whole earth as your country and all men as your brethren and friends, seeing that they are the family of one God, that they are of one nature, and that there is a communion of each and all in speech, and likewise in feelings, which is the same, no matter how or where a man has been born, whether he is barbarian or whether he is Hellene, so long only as he is a man. But there is, it must be admitted, a kinship which over-rides philosophical theory, and a familiarity which attracts to itself everything that shares it. So the Odysseus of Homer, as they relate, did not prefer even immortality, when a goddess offered it, to Ithaca. And for my own part I notice that this law pervades even the animal kingdom; for there is not a single bird that will sleep away from its own nest, and though the fishermen may drag the tenants of the deep from their lair, yet they will return unless they are overcome. As for wild beasts neither hunger nor satiety induces them to remain outside their holes. And man is one of these creatures that nature hath so produced, even though he bear the name of sage, for whom all the earth may supply everything else, but can never call up before his eyes the sepulchres of his fathers.

XLV.—TO THE SAME.

IF philosophy be the most precious thing in existence, and if we are convinced that we are philosophers, we cannot rightly be supposed to hate our brethren, and that for a mean and illiberal

ἀγεννή τε ἄμα καὶ ἀνελεύθερον. χρημάτων γὰρ
 δήπου χάριν ἢ ὑποψία, τούτων δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ
 φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπειρώμεθα καταφρονεῖν, ὥστε τοῦ μὴ
 γράφειν εὐλογώτερον ἂν εἴη πρόφασιν ἑτέραν
 ὑπονοεῖν. ἐφυλαττόμενην γὰρ ἀληθῆ μὲν γράφων
 ἀλαζῶν δοκεῖν, ψευδῇ δὲ ταπεινός, ὧν ἑκάτερον
 ἐπίσης ἀνιάρων ἀδελφοῖς τε καὶ φίλοις ἂν εἴη·
 νυνὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο δηλῶ—συγχωροίη γὰρ ἂν
 ἴσως τὸ δαιμόνιον—ὅτι συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐν Ῥόδῳ
 φίλοις, μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκείθεν ἐπάνειμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 λήγοντος ἔαρος.

μς'.—Γ ο ρ δ ί ω.

Ἦδικῆσθαί φασιν Ἑστιαῖον ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ταῦτα
 φίλου γεγονότος, εἴ γε σύ τινος φίλος. ὄρα δὴ,
 Γόρδιε, μὴ πείραν λάβῃς ἀνδρὸς οὐ δοκοῦντος,
 ἀλλὰ ὄντος. ἄσπασαι τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστοκλείδην,
 ὃν εὐχομαι μὴ παραπλησίον σοι γενέσθαι. καὶ σὺ
 δ' ἦσθα νέος ἄμεμπτος.

μζ'.—Τ υ α ν έ ω ν τ ῇ β ο υ λ ῇ καὶ τ ῷ δ ῆ μ ω.

Προστάττουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπανιέναι πείθομαι. τοῦτο
 γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ἓνα πόλει πρεπωδέστερον ἂν εἴη, εἰ
 ἕνεκα τιμῆς μεταπέμποιτο πολίτην ἑαυτῆς. καὶ ὃν

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reason. For it appears our misunderstanding is on the point of money; and that is something which we tried to despise, even before we became philosophers; and therefore it is more likely and reasonable that you should suspect me of having neglected to write to you for some other reason than that. For in fact I was as much afraid to write you the truth, because you might think me boastful, as to write you less than the truth, for fear you might think me over-humble; and both of these things are equally annoying no less to brethren than to friends. Now however I have this information to give you. If heaven should perhaps consent, I will, after meeting my friends in Rhodes, shortly depart thence, and return to you towards the end of spring.

XLVI.—To GORDIUS.

THEY tell me that Hestiaeus has been wronged by yourself in spite of your having been his friend, if indeed you are the friend of anyone. Beware then, my Gordius, lest you find yourself in conflict not with the semblance of a man, but with the reality. My greetings to your son, Aristocleides, who may, I pray, never resemble yourself. And yet you, as a young man, were beyond reproach.

XLVII.—To THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF TYANA.

You command me to return to you, and I obey. For the greatest compliment a city can pay to one of its own citizens is to recall him in order to do him honour. And during the whole time that I have

ἀπεδήμησα δὲ χρόνον, ἀπεδήμησα περιποιῶν ὑμῖν,
εἰ καὶ ἐπαχθὲς εἶπειν, εὐκλειάν τε καὶ ὄνομα καὶ
εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν πόλεων ἐπιφανῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ
καὶ ἀνδρῶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μείζονος ἔτι καὶ κρείττονος
ὕμεῖς ὑπολήψεως ἄξιοι, τό γε ἔμὸν καὶ τὸ παρὰ
τῆς ἐμῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξήρκει μόνον
δυνάμεώς τε καὶ σπουδῆς. ἔρρωσθε.

μη΄. — Διοτίμω.

Ἐπλανήθης οἰηθεὶς δεῖσθαί μέ τινος ἢ παρ'
αὐτοῦ σοῦ, πρὸς ὃν οὐδὲν ἦν μοί ποτε κοινόν τι
γεγονός, ἢ παρ' ἄλλου τινὸς ὁμοίου τε καὶ ὁμοίως.
ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀναλωθὲν εἰς τι τῶν σοι σωτηρίων
πολύ τι. χαριεῖ δὴ μοι παθῶν εὖ δίχ' ἀναλώματος,
τηρήσω γάρ μου τὸ ἔθος μόνως οὕτως. ὅτι δὲ
τοῦτον ἔχω τὸν τρόπον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάθεσιν
πρὸς ἅπαντάς μου τοὺς πολίτας, ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν
ὥς καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἔξεστι μαθεῖν
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, εὖ παθόντων μὲν,
ὁσάκις ἐδεήθησάν τινος, ἀμοιβὴν δὲ αἰτηθέντων
μηδεμίαν. μὴ δὴ δυσχεράνης, εἰ δεόντως ἐπιτιμη-
θεὶς ὁ ἐμὸς οἰκέτης ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσέσθαι τι τὴν
ἀρχήν, ἀπέδωκεν εὐθύς ὃ ἔλαβε Λυσία τῷ φίλῳ
σου, φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐπεὶ μηδένα ἠπίστατο τῶν

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been away from your city, I have, although it may be presumptuous to say so, striven to win for you, by my sojourning abroad, good fame and name and good-will and the friendship of distinguished cities, and equally of distinguished men. And if you merit a still wider and higher consideration, it is only myself and my own natural gifts which are capable of an effort involving so much ability and seriousness. Farewell.

XLVIII.—To DIOTIMUS.

You make a mistake in supposing that I want anything either from yourself, with whom I have never had anything in common, or from any body else like you, or under like circumstances. But in fact, even what I have expended on any object conducive to your welfare has been inconsiderable. I shall be best pleased, therefore, if you accept my kindness without incurring any expense yourself. For in no other way but this shall I retain my principles intact. And that this is my way, and this my attitude towards all my fellow-citizens, I might almost say towards all men, you can learn from the rest of the citizens who have accepted my kindness, as often as they stood in need thereof, but who have never been asked to make any return. Do not then take it amiss, if I have rebuked my servant as he deserved, for having in the first instance accepted anything, and if he at once handed back to Lysias your friend, and also a friend of my own, what he received, because he did not know personally any of your servants whom

καταλελειμμένων σου παίδων. εἰ δὲ δύο λόγοι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγονται, λεχθήσονται δὲ καὶ ἐσύστερον, τί θαυμαστόν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ περὶ παντὸς ἄκρου δοκοῦντος καθ' ὅτιον ἐναντίους λέγεσθαι λόγους. οὕτως περὶ Πυθαγόρου, περὶ Ὀρφέως, περὶ Πλάτωνος, περὶ Σωκράτους οὐκ ἐλέχθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγράφη τὰ ἐναντία, ὅπου γε μὴ τὰ ὅμοια καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ δέχονται τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ὡς ἂν ἔχοντές τι συγγενές, οἱ δὲ φαῦλοι τὸν ἐναντίον, καὶ ἔστι τοῦ τοιούτου γένους καταγελαῦν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ χείρονος. τοσοῦτο μόνον δίκαιον ὑπομνήσαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τὸ νῦν, ὅτι περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ θεοῖς εἴρηται ὡς περὶ θείου ἀνδρός, οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ τισὶ πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. ἐπαχθὲς λέγειν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πλεῖον ἢ μείζον. ὑγιαίνειν εὐχομαι.

μθ'.—Φερουκίανῶ.

Πάνν τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασιν ἦσθην, πολλὴν γὰρ οἰκειότητα καὶ γένους ἀνάμνησιν εἶχε, καὶ πέπεισμαι δι' ἐπιθυμίας εἶναί σοι θεάσασθαι με καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ θεαθῆναι. αὐτὸς οὖν ἀφίξομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, ὅθεν ἔχου τῶν αὐτόθι. συμμίσξεις δέ μοι πλησίον γενομένῳ πρὸ πῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ προσήκει σοι τοῦτο.

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you had left behind. But that there are two accounts of me current, and that they will continue to circulate even in the future, need I be surprised? For it is inevitable in the case of everyone at all prominent in any way, that there should be contradictory accounts of him in circulation. It was so with Pythagoras, with Orpheus, with Plato, and with Socrates; not only were contrary statements made about them, but they were embodied in writing as well, and we need not be surprised seeing that even concerning God himself men's accounts differ from one another. However, good men by a sort of natural affinity will accept the truth, just as bad men will accept the opposite, and we can afford to laugh at such people, I mean the worst sort. This much only it is right for the moment to impress upon you about myself, that even the gods have spoken of me as of a divine man, not only on many occasions to private individuals, but also in public. I shall shock you if I speak more or more highly of myself. I pray for your good health.

XLIX.—To PHERUCIANUS.

I AM very delighted with the letters which you have sent me, for they reveal much intimacy and reminiscence of my family; and I am sure that you are most anxious to see me, and to be seen by me. I shall therefore visit you as soon as possible; wherefore please remain at home. And you shall converse with me, when I have arrived at your residence, in preference to any of your other friends and intimates; since it is right that you should do so.

ν'.—Εὐφράτη.

Ἐν γένει δαιμόνων καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Πυθαγόρας ἦν. σὺ δ' ἔτι μοι δοκεῖς πορρωτάτῳ φιλοσοφίας εἶναι καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἣ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε κακῶς ἔλεγες, οὔτε τινὰς τῶν ζηλούντων αὐτὸν διετέλεις μισῶν. ἄλλο τί σοι νῦν πρακτέον ἂν εἴη· φιλοσοφίας γὰρ ἡμβροτες, οὐδ' ἔτυχες οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ Μενελάου Πάνδαρος ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄρκων συγχύσει.

να'.—τῶ αὐτῶ.

Ἐπιτιμῶσί σοί τινες, ὡς εἰληφότι χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄτρεπον, εἰ μὴ φαίνοιο φιλοσοφίας εἰληφέναι μισθὸν καὶ τοσαυτάκις καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτων καὶ περὶ σοῦ πεπιστευκότων εἶναί σε φιλόσοφον.

νβ'.—τῶ αὐτῶ.

Ἐάν τις ἀνδρὶ Πυθαγορείῳ συγγένηται, τίνα παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεται καὶ ὅποσα, φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε· νομοθετικὴν γεωμετρίαν ἀστρονομίαν ἀριθμητικὴν ἁρμονικὴν μουσικὴν ἰατρικὴν, πᾶσαν θείαν μαντικὴν, τὰ δὲ καλλίῳ μεγαλοφροσύνην μεγαλοψυχίαν μεγαλοπρέπειαν εὐστάθειαν εὐφημίαν γνῶσιν θεῶν, οὐ δόξαν, εἶδῃσιν δαιμόνων, οὐχὶ

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L.—TO EUPHRATES.

EVEN the most wise Pythagoras belonged to the class of demons; but you still seem to me to be utterly remote from philosophy, and from true science, or you would neither abuse that great man, nor persist in hating certain of those who follow him. You should turn to something else now. For “you have missed your cue” in philosophy, “nor have you hit it off” better than Pandarus, when he aimed at Menelaus, in the episode of the violation of oaths. *Iliad* iv. 140

LI.—TO THE SAME PERSON.

THERE are those who rebuke you for having taken money from the Emperor. There would be nothing absurd in your doing so, were it not clear that you have taken money rewards for your philosophy on so many occasions and on such a large scale, and from so many persons, and from people whom you had got to believe that you were a philosopher.

LII.—TO THE SAME PERSON.

IF anyone converses with a Pythagorean, and asks what boons and how many he shall derive from him, I should myself answer as follows: he will acquire legislative science, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, knowledge of harmony and of music, and of the physician's art, god-like divination in all its branches, and the still better qualities of magnanimity, greatness of soul, magnificence, constancy, reverence, knowledge and not mere opinion

πίστιν, φιλίαν ἐκατέρων, αὐτάρκειαν ἐκτένειαν
λιτότητα βραχύτητα τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐαισθησίαν
εὐκίνησίαν εὐπνοίαν εὐχροίαν ὑγείαν εὐψυχίαν
ἀθανασίαν, παρὰ σοῦ δέ, Εὐφράτα, τί λαβόντες
ἔχουσιν οἱ συνόντες; ἢ δηλονότι τὴν ἀρετήν, ἣν
ἔχεις;

νγ'.—Κλαύδιος Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ.

Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην Πυθαγό-
ρειον φιλόσοφον, καλῶς ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ Ἑλλάδι
καὶ τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν ὠφελήσαντα τιμήσαντες
ἀξίαις τιμαῖς, αἷς πρέπει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ
ἀληθῶς προΐσταμένους φιλοσοφίας, τὴν εὐνοίαν
ἡμῶν ἠθελήσαμεν ὑμῖν δι' ἐπιστολῆς φανεράν
γενέσθαι. ἔρρωσθε.

νδ'.—Ἀπολλώνιος δικαιοταῖς Ῥωμαίων.

Λιμένων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ περιβόλων καὶ
περιπάτων ἐνίοις ὑμῶν πρόνοια, παίδων δὲ τῶν
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ νέων ἢ γυναικῶν οὐθ' ὑμῖν
οὔτε τοῖς νόμοις φροντίς. ἢ καλὸν ἂν εἴη τὸ
ἄρχεσθαι;

νε'.—τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀπολλώνιος.

Φύσιν ἔχει τῶν τελειωθέντων ἕκαστον ἀπιέναι,
καὶ τοῦτο παντὶ γῆράς ἐστι, μεθ' ὃ μηκέτι μένει.

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of the gods, direct cognisance of demons and not mere faith, friendship with both, independence of spirit, assiduity, frugality, limitation of his needs, quickness of perception, quickness of movement, quickness in breathing, excellence of colour, health, courage, immortality. And from you, Euphrates, what have your companions obtained that they can keep? Surely no more than the excellence which you possess yourself.

LIII.—CLAUDIUS, TO THE SENATE OF TYANA.

APOLLONIUS your citizen, a Pythagorean philosopher, has made a brilliant sojourn in Hellas, and has done much good to our young men. Having conferred upon him the honours he deserved, and which are proper to good men who are so truly eminent in philosophy, we have desired to manifest to you by letter our good-will. Fare ye well.

LIV.—APOLLONIUS, TO THE CENSORS OF ROME.

SOME of you have taken trouble to provide harbours and public buildings and enclosures and promenades; but neither you yourselves nor your laws evince any solicitude for the children in your cities, or for the young, or for women. Were it not so it would be a fine thing to be one of your subjects.

LV.—APOLLONIUS TO HIS BROTHER.

EVERYTHING when it hath reached maturity hath a natural tendency to vanish away, and this is

μὴ δὴ σε λυπεῖτω τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς
 ἡλικίας ἀποβολή, μηδέ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός τι λέγεται,
 κρεῖττον αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῆν ὑπολάβανε, χεῖρον ὃν τὰ
 παντὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι. γενοῦ δὴ ἀδελφὸς τὸ
 μὲν κοινότατον φιλοσόφου, τὸ δ' ἐξαίρετον Πυθα-
 γορείου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ σου τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν
 αὐτὴν ποίησον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκαλούμέν τι τῇ
 προτέρᾳ, καὶν εἰκότως ἐδοκοῦμεν ἀποδειλιᾶν, εἰ δ'
 ἡ μὲν σεμνή τε διετέλεσεν οὔσα καὶ φίλανδρος
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιζητήσεως ἀξία, τί καὶ διανοη-
 θέντες οὐκ ἂν ὅμοια καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης
 προσδοκοίημεν; ἦν εἰκὸς ἂν ἐθελῆσαι καὶ ἀμεί-
 νονα γενέσθαι μηδαμοῦ τῆς προτέρας ἀμελείᾳ
 κακωθείσης. δυσωπεῖτω δέ σε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελ-
 φῶν οὕτω μέχρι νῦν ἔχοντα· τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ μὲν
 γὰρ σοὶ οὐδὲ γόνος οὐδέπω, τῷ νεωτάτῳ δὲ
 ἐλπίς μὲν ἔτι παιδοποιίας, ἐν προκοπῇ δέ γε τοῦ
 χρόνου, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐνὶ τρεῖς γεγόναμεν, τρισὶ
 δ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲ εἷς. ἴσος δὲ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος τῇ
 πατρίδι καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ μεθ' ἡμᾶς. εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς
 ἀμείνους τοῦ πατρὸς—ἄλλως δέ, καθ' ὃ πατήρ,
 χεῖρους—πῶς οὐκ ἂν βελτίους ἐξ ἡμῶν εἰκὸς
 ἂν ὑπάρξαι; γενέσθωσαν οὖν τινες, οἷς παρα-
 θησόμεθα γοῦν ὀνόματα, ὥς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι

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old age for every man, after which he remaineth no more. Let not therefore the loss of thy wife in the flower of her age grieve thee beyond measure, nor, because such a thing as death is spoken of, imagine that life is superior thereto, when it is altogether inferior in the eyes of one who reflects. Make thyself then the brother of one that is a philosopher, in the common acceptation of the word, and in particular is a Pythagorean and Apollonius, and restore the former estate of thy household. For if we had found anything to blame in thy former wife, we might reasonably expect thee to shrink from another union; but inasmuch as she was consistently holy and pure and attached to her husband and therefore worthy of your regrets, what should lead us to expect that a second wife should not resemble her? Nay she would in all probability be encouraged to improve in virtue by the fact that her predecessor was not forgotten nor wronged by neglect of her memory. And I would pray thee seriously to concern thyself about the condition of thy brethren as up to the present it is. For thy elder brother has never yet had offspring; and though thy younger brother may still look forward to having a child, yet it is only in the far future; and so here are we three sons, the children of a single father, and we three between us have not a single son. Wherefore there is great risk no less for our country than for the life of our posterity. For if we are better than our father,—though of course, so far forth as he was our father, we are worse,—how can we not reasonably expect our descendants to be still better? I trust then that there may be some to whom we may at least hand on our names, as our ancestors devised

συνύφηναν. ὑπὸ δακρύων οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην
πλείονα γράψαι, καὶ οὐδὲ εἶχον ἀναγκαιότερα
τούτων.

νς'.—Σαρδιανοῖς.

Κροῖσος ἀπέβαλε τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχὴν "Αλυ
διαβίς, ἐλήφθη ζῶν, ἐδέθη πέδαις, ἐπὶ πυρὰν
ἀνεβιβάσθη, τὸ πῦρ εἶδεν ἡμμένον αἰρόμενον εἰς
ὑψος· ἔζησεν, ἐδόκει γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τετιμημένος. τί
οὖν ὕστερον; οὗτος ὁ πρόγονος ὑμῶν ἅμα καὶ
βασιλεὺς ὁ τοσαῦτα παθὼν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν,
τραπέζης ἐκοινώνησε τῷ πολεμῷ, σύμβουλος ἦν
εὖνους, πιστὸς φίλος. ὑμῖν δὲ ἄσπονδα καὶ
ἀκήρυκτα καὶ ἀμείλικτα, ἔτι τε ἀνίερα καὶ ἄθεα
τὰ πρὸς γονεῖς πρὸς τέκνα, τὰ πρὸς φίλους
συγγενεῖς φυλέτας. ἐχθροὶ γεγόνατέ μήτε "Αλυ
διαβάντες, μήτε δεξάμενοί τινα ἄνθρωπον ἔξωθεν
καὶ ἡ γῆ φέρει καρπὸν ὑμῖν. ἄδικος ἡ γῆ.

νς'.—συγγραφεῦσι λογίοις.

Φῶς παρουσία πυρός, ἣ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως γένοιτο
πῦρ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος, καὶ ᾧ γίνεται, καίετα
γούν, φῶς δὲ ταῖς ὄψεσι μόνον αὐγὴν ἑαυτοῦ
παρέχεται μὴ βιαζόμενον αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ πείθου
τοίνυν καὶ λόγος ὁ μὲν ὥσπερ πῦρ καὶ πάθος,

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these for us. For my tears I am not able to write thee more, but I have nothing more important than this to write.

LVI.—TO THE PEOPLE OF SARDIS.

CROESUS lost the empire of the Lydians by crossing the river Halys. He was taken alive, he was bound in chains, he was set upon the high raised pyre, he saw the fire lit and the flames rising aloft. He was saved, for it appeared that he was honoured and valued by the god. What then ensued? This man, your progenitor, and also your king, who had suffered so much that he deserved not to suffer, was invited to the table of his enemy, and became his adviser and well-wisher, his faithful friend. But you, in your relations with your parents, your children, your friends, kinsmen and tribesmen, evince nothing but truceless, implacable, irreconcilable hatred, and worse than this, unholy and godless frenzy. Ye have made yourselves hateful, by neither crossing the Halys, nor receiving among yourselves anyone from outside. And yet earth bears you her fruit. The earth is unjust.

LVII.—TO CERTAIN LEARNED PUBLICISTS.

LIGHT is the presence of fire, without which it could not be. Now fire is itself an affection, and that whereunto it comes, is of course burnt up. But light can only supply its own radiance to our eyes, on condition of using not force to them, but persuasion. Speech therefore in its turn, resembles in its one aspect, fire which is the affection, and in its other,

δὲ ὅσπερ αὐγὴ καὶ φῶς ἐστὶν ὃ κρεῖττον ὄν, εἰ
μὴ μεῖζον εὐχῆς τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, εἴη μοι.

νη'.—Οὐαλερίω.

Θάνατος οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει, καθά-
περ οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει. τὸ
μὲν γὰρ ἐξ οὐσίας τραπὲν εἰς φύσιν ἔδοξε γένεσις,
τὸ δὲ ἐκ φύσεως εἰς οὐσίαν κατὰ ταῦτὰ θάνατος,
οὔτε γιγνομένου κατ' ἀλήθειάν τις, οὔτε φθειρο-
μένου ποτέ, μόνον δὲ ἐμφανοῦς ὄντος ἀοράτου τε
ὑστερον, τοῦ μὲν διὰ παχύτητα τῆς ὕλης, τοῦ δὲ
διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς οὐσίας, οὔσης μὲν αἰεὶ τῆς
αὐτῆς, κινήσει δὲ διαφερούσης καὶ στάσει. τοῦτο
γάρ που τὸ ἴδιον ἀνάγκη τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐκ
ἔξωθεν γινομένης ποθέν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὅλου μετα-
βάλλοντος εἰς τὰ μέρη, τῶν μερῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὅλον
τρεπομένων ἐνότητι τοῦ παντός. εἰ δὲ ἐρήσεται
τις· τί τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ποτὲ μὲν ὁρατόν, ποτὲ δὲ
ἀόρατον, ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς γινόμενον ἢ ἄλλοις; φαίη
τις ἄν, ὥς ἔθος ἐκάστου ἐστὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γενῶν, ὅ
πληρωθὲν μὲν ἐφάνη διὰ τὴν τῆς παχύτητος ἀντι-
τυπίαν, ἀόρατον δὲ ἐστὶν, εἰ κενωθείη διὰ λεπτό-
τητα τῆς ὕλης, βίᾳ περιχυθείσης ἐκρυσθείσης τε τοῦ
περιέχοντος αὐτὴν αἰωνίου μέτρου, γεννητοῦ δὲ
οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ φθαρτοῦ.

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the radiance which is light. And I pray that the latter which is better may be mine, unless indeed that which I speak of is beyond the reach of my prayer.

LVIII.—To VALERIUS.

THERE is no death of anyone save in appearance only, even as there is no birth of anyone or becoming, except only in appearance. For when a thing passes from essence into nature we consider that there is a birth or becoming, and in the same way that there is death when it passes from nature into essence; though in truth a thing neither comes into being at any time nor is destroyed. But it is only apparent at one time and later on invisible, the former owing to the density of its material, and the latter by the reason of the lightness or tenuity of the essence, which however remains always the same, and is only subject to differences of movement and state. For this is necessarily the characteristic of change caused not by anything outside, but by a conversion of the whole into the parts, and by a return of the parts into the whole, due to the oneness of the universe. But if someone asks: What is this, which is at one time visible, and at another invisible, as it presents itself in the same or in different objects? It may be answered, that it is characteristic of each of the several genera of things here, when it is full, to be apparent to us because of the resistance of its density to our senses, but to be unseen in case it is emptied of its matter by reason of its tenuity, the latter being perforce shed abroad, and flowing away from the eternal measure which confined it; albeit the measure itself is never created nor destroyed.

Τί δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνέλεγκτον; οἴονται γάρ τινες, ὃ πεπόνθασιν, αὐτοῦ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, μὴ εἰδότες, ὥς ὁ γεινηθεὶς διὰ γονέων γεγέννηται, οὐχ ὑπὸ γονέων, καθάπερ τὸ διὰ γῆς φυὲν οὐκ ἐκ γῆς φύεται, πάθος τε οὐδὲν τῶν φαινομένων περὶ ἕκαστον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον περὶ ἐν ἐκάστου. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἂν ἄλλοις τις εἰπὼν ἢ τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν ὀρθῶς ἂν ὀνομάσειεν; ἢ δὴ μόνη ποιεῖ τε καὶ πάσχει, πᾶσι γινομένη πάντα διὰ πάντων, θεὸς αἰδῖος, ὀνόμασι καὶ προσώποις ἀφαιρουμένη τὸ ἴδιον ἀδικουμένη τε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔλαττον. τὸ δὲ μείζον κλαίεται τις, ὅταν θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γένηται τόπου μεταβάσει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσεως. ὥς δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές, οὐ πενθητέον σοι θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον καὶ σεβαστέον. τιμὴ δὲ ἡ ἀρίστη τε καὶ πρέπουσα, εἰ ἀφελὲς θεῷ τὸν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἀνθρώπων τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰ νῦν ἄρχοις ἢ πρότερον ἦρχες. αἰσχρόν, εἰ χρόνῳ, μὴ λογισμῷ γένοιτο βελτίων, εἰ χρόνος καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς λύπη ἔπαυσε. μέγιστον ἀρχὴ ἱκανή, καὶ μεγίστων

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Why is it then that error has passed unrefuted on such a scale? The reason is that some imagine that they have themselves actively brought about what they have merely suffered and experienced; because they do not understand that a child brought into the world by parents, is not begotten by its parents, any more than what grows by means of the earth grows out of the earth; nor are phenomenal modifications or affections of matter properties of the individual thing, but it is rather the case that each individual thing's affections are properties of a single phenomenon. And this single phenomenon cannot be rightly spoken of or characterised, except we name it the first essence. For this alone is agent and patient, making itself all things unto all and through all, God eternal, which in so far as it takes on the names and person of individuals, forfeits its peculiar character to its prejudice. Now this is of lesser importance; what is of greater is this, that some are apt to weep so soon as ever God arises out of mankind,¹ by mere change of place and not of nature. But in very truth of things; you should not lament another's death, but prize and reverence it. And the highest and only befitting honour you can pay to death, is to resign unto God him that was here, and continue to rule as before over the human beings entrusted to your care. You dishonour yourself if you improve less through your judgment than by lapse of time, seeing that time alleviates the sorrows even of the wicked. High

¹ The idea is that by death the divine substance which was confined in a personality or name (which was the same thing) is released, so that where there was only a human being, there is now God.

ἄρχων ἄριστος, ὃς ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἄρχῃ. ποῦ δὲ καὶ ὅσιον ἀπεύχεσθαι τὸ βουλήσει θεοῦ γενόμενον; εἰ τάξις ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων, ἔστι δέ, καὶ θεὸς ἐπιστατεῖ ταύτης, ὃ δίκαιος οὐ βούλησεται ἀπεύχεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ, πλεονεκτικὸν γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἡγήσεται δὲ τὰ γινόμενα συμφέρειν. πρόελθε καὶ θεράπενσαι, δίκασον καὶ παρηγόρησον τοὺς ἀθλίους, τῶν δὲ δακρύων οὕτως ἀποτρέψεις. οὐ τὰ ἴδια τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἰδίων προτιμητέον. οἶον δέ σοι καὶ τὸ τῆς παραμυθίας εἶδος· σὺν ὅλῳ τὸν υἱὸν ἔθνει πεπένθηκας. ἄμειψαι τοὺς μετὰ σοῦ λελυπημένους, ἀμείψῃ δέ, ἐὰν λυπούμενος παύσῃ, τάχιον ἢ ἐὰν μὴ προέλθῃς. φίλους οὐκ ἔχεις; υἱὸν δὲ ἔχεις. καὶ νῦν τὸν τεθνηκότα; φήσῃ τις τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων. τὸ γὰρ ὄν οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, διὰ τοῦτο ὄν, ὅτι ἔσται διὰ παντός, ἢ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν γίνεται, πῶς δ' ἂν γένοιτο μὴ ἀπολλυμένου τοῦ ὄντος; εἴποι ἂν ἕτερός τις, ὡς ἄσεβεῖς τε καὶ ἀδικεῖς. ἄσεβεῖς μὲν τὸν θεόν, ἀδικεῖς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, μᾶλλον δὲ κακείνον ἄσεβεῖς· βούλει δὲ μαθεῖν οἶόν ἐστι θάνατος; ἀνελέ με πέμψας μετὰ ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, ἣν ἐὰν μὴ μεταμφιέσῃ, παραχρῆμα κρείττονά με σεαυτοῦ πεποίηκας.

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command is the most important of things ; and he will best succeed in the most important office, who has first learnt to govern himself. And what piety moreover is there in deprecating that which has happened by the will of God ? If there is an order of reality, and there is, and if God presides over it, the just man will not desire to deprecate his blessings ; for such conduct savours of avarice and violates that order ; but he will consider that what happens is for the best. Go forward then and heal yourself, dispense justice and console the wretched ; so will you wipe away men's tears. You must not prefer your private welfare to the public, but the public to your private. And think what manner of consolation is offered you : the entire province has mourned with you for the loss of your son. Reward those who have grieved with you, and you will far sooner reward them by ceasing to mourn than by confining yourself in your house. " You have no friends ? " But you have a son. " What, the one who is just dead (you will ask) ? " " Yes," will be the reply of all who reflect ; " for that which exists is not lost, but exists by the very fact that it will be for ever. Or would you argue that that which has no existence comes into being ? But how can that be without the destruction of that which is ? " Another might say, that you are impious and unjust. Impious towards God, and unjust towards your son, nay impious towards him rather than towards God. Would you then learn what death is ? Send and slay me the moment I have uttered these words, and unless you can clothe them afresh with flesh, you have there and then made me superior to yourself.

Ἐχεις χρόνον, ἔχεις γυναῖκα ἔμφρονα φίλανδρον, ὀλόκληρος εἶ, παρὰ σεαυτοῦ λαβὲ τὸ λείπον. Ῥωμαῖός τις¹ τῶν πάλαι γεγονότων, ἵνα σώσῃ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς νόμον τε καὶ κόσμον, υἱὸν ἴδιον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ στεφανώσας ἀπέκτεινε. πόλεων ἄρχεις πεντακοσίων Ῥωμαίων ὁ εὐγενέστατος. ταῦτα σαυτὸν διατίθης, ἐξ ὧν οὐδ' οἰκίας τις εὐσταθῶς ἄρξει, μήτι γε πόλεών τε καὶ ἔθνων. Ἀπολλώνιος εἰ παρῇν, Φαβούλλαν ἂν μὴ πενθεῖν ἔπεισεν.

νθ'.—Βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίων Γάρμος
Νεογύνδῃ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ.

Εἰ μὴ περίεργος ἦς, οὐκ ἂν ἦς ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις πράγμασι δίκαιος, οὐδὲ ἂν ἄρχων ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐδίκαζες Βαβυλωνίοις. πόθεν γάρ σοι γνώριμος ἦν ὁ ἡμέτερος δῆμῶς; νῦν δὲ ἐπείρασας ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμήν, ὑποκοριζόμενος ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τοιαύτας ἀρχὰς καθιείς, καὶ πρόσχημα ποιούμενος τῆς πλεονεξίας τὴν φιланθρωπίαν. περανεῖς δὲ οὐδέν, οὔτε γὰρ λαθεῖν ἂν δύναιο.

ξ'.—Εὐφράτη.

Ἦν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ὥφθη παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς ἐμαῖς, ξίφος ἔχων ἐν Κορίνθῳ μετὰ σοῦ γνωρίμου.

¹ Titus Manlius. See Livy, VIII. 7.

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You have abundant time, you have a wife who is sensible, devoted to her husband; you are yourself sound in body, take from yourself whatever lacks. One of the ancient Romans, in order to uphold the law and order of his state, slew his own son, and indeed slew him after crowning him. You are a governor of fifty cities, and noblest of the Romans; yet this present humour of yours is such as to prevent you from affording a stable government even to your household, not to speak of cities and provinces. If Apollonius were with you, he would have persuaded Fabulla not to mourn.

LIX. —THE KING OF THE BABYLONIANS, GARMOS, TO NEOGYNDES, THE KING OF THE INDIANS.

If you were not of a prying disposition, you would not be laying down the law in other people's affairs; nor as sovereign in India would you be playing the judge for Babylonians. For how came you to know anything about my people? But just recently you have made an attempt upon my kingdom, by trying to cajole me with your letters and by insinuating into my realm such magistrates as these, and you try to cloak under the veil of philanthropy your own aggressive designs. But you will not succeed at all, for you cannot deceive me or take me in.

LX.—To EUPHRATES.

PRAXITELES of Calchis was a madman. He appeared at my door in Corinth, together with your friend with a sword in his hand. What then is

τίς οὖν ἡ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αἰτία; οὐ γὰρ πώποτε
σὰς βούς ἤλασα,

ἐπειὴ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
οὐρεά τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχίεσσα
τῆς τε ἐμῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς σῆς.

ξα'.—Λεσβώνακτι.

Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης ἦν σοφός, εἰ δὲ Σκύθης,
ὅτι καὶ Σκύθης.

ξβ'.—Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀπολλωνίῳ.

Τῶν δεδομενῶν τιμῶν σοι ἀπεστάλκαμεν τόδε
ἀντίγραφον σαμανάμενοι τῇ δαμοσίᾳ σφραγίδι
ἵνα ἴδῃς.

Ψήφισμα Λακεδαιμονίων, καθὼς οἱ γέροντες
ἐπέκριναν Τυνδάρεω εἰσηγησαμένῳ ταῖν ἀρχαῖν
ἔδοξε τέλεσί τε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀπολλώνιον Πυθα-
γόρειον ἡμεν πολίταν, ἔχειν τε καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἴκων
ἔγκτασιν. ἐστάκαμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπίσαμον εἰκόνα
γραφτὰν καὶ χαλκᾶν ἀρετῆς χάριν. ὧδε γὰρ οἱ
πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐτίμων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς. ἐνόμιζον
γὰρ ἡμεν Λυκούργῳ παῖδας, ὅσοι σύμφωνον θεοῖς
τὸν βίον αἰρέοντο.

ξγ'.—Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις καὶ
Λακεδαιμονίοις.

Ἄνδρας ὑμῶν ἐθεασάμην ὑπήνην μὴ ἔχοντας,
τοὺς μηροὺς καὶ τὰ σκέλη λείους τε καὶ λευκοὺς,

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the reason of his attempting my life? For I have never driven off your oxen, seeing that between your philosophy and mine "there intervene very many shadowy mountains and an echoing sea." *Hind i. 154 sq.*

LXI.—TO LESBONAX.

ANACHARSIS the Scythian was a sage, but, if he was a Scythian, then it was because he was a Scythian.

LXII.—THE LACEDAEMONIANS TO APOLLONIUS.

WE send you this copy of a decree conferring honour upon yourself, which we have sealed with the public seal, for your recognition thereof.

"The decree of the Lacedaemonians, according to the resolution taken by their senate on the motion of Tindarus.

"It was resolved by the government and people to make Apollonius the Pythagorean a citizen, and to bestow upon him the right to possess land and houses. And we have also set up an inscribed image, painted and made of bronze, to commemorate his virtues. For this is the way in which our fathers did honour to good men; for they regarded as sons of Lycurgus all who have chosen a way of life in accordance with the will of the gods."

LXIII.—APOLLONIUS TO THE EPHORS AND TO THE LACEDAEMONIANS.

I HAVE seen your men without any beards, with their thighs and legs smooth and white, clad in soft

μαλακὰς χλανίδας ἡμφιεσμένους καὶ λεπτὰς, δακτυλίους πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς περικειμένους, ὑποδεδεμένους ὑπόδημα τὸ Ἴωνικόν. οὐκ ἐπέγνω οὖν τοὺς λεγομένους πρέσβεις, ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασκεν.

ξδ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Καλεῖτέ με πολλάκις βοηθὸν ὑμῖν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν νέων ἐσόμενον. ἡ Σόλωνος δὲ πόλις οὐ καλεῖ με. Λυκούργον αἰδεῖσθε.

ξε'.—Ἐφεσίῳ τοῖς ἐν Ἀρτέμιδι.

Ἔθος ὑμῖν ἅπαν ἀγιστείας, ἔθος δὲ βασιλικῆς τιμῆς. τᾶλλ' ὑμεῖς ἐστιάτορες μὲν καὶ δαιτυμόνες οὐ μεμπτοί, μεμπτοὶ δὲ σύνοικοι τῇ θεῷ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὁ κλέπτης τε καὶ ληστής καὶ ἀνδραποδιστὴς καὶ πᾶς, εἴ τις ἄδικος ἢ ἱερόσυλος, ἦν ὀρμώμενος αὐτόθεν· τὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν τῶν ἀποστερούντων μυχὸς ἐστίν.

ξε'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνὴρ Ἕλληνα τῆ φύσιν, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος, οὐδὲ Μεγαρεύς γε, λῶον δ' ὄνομα¹ παροικήσων ὑμῶν τῇ θεῷ. δότε μοι τόπον· ἔνθα μὴ καθαρσίῳν δεήσει μοι, καίπερ ἔνδον αἰετοὶ μένουσι.

¹ Or perhaps ὄνομα signifies "a person."

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tunics and light, their fingers covered with rings, and their necks bedizened with necklaces, and shod with shoes of Ionic style. I did not therefore recognize your so-called envoys, though your epistle spoke of them as Lacedaemonians.

LXIV.—TO THE SAME.

You invite me again and again to reform your laws and your youth. Now the city of Solon does not invite me. Reverence Lycurgus.

LXV.—TO THOSE OF THE EPHESIANS WHO FREQUENTED THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS.

You are devoted to holy ceremonies no less than to honouring the Emperor. In general I cannot condemn your custom of inviting and being invited to feasts; but I do condemn the people who by night and by day share the home of the goddess, otherwise I should not see issuing thence thieves and robbers and kidnappers and every sort of wretch or sacrilegious rascal: for your temple is just a den of robbers.

LXVI.—TO THE SAME PERSONS.

THERE is come from Hellas a man who was a Hellene by race; and though he was not an Athenian or indeed a native of Megara, yet he had a better name, and was intent upon making his home together with your goddess. So I would have you assign me some place, where I can stay without contracting a need of purificatory rites, though I always remain inside.

ξζ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ἀνεῖται θύουσι τὸ ἱερόν, εὐχομένοις ὑμνοῦσι
 ἰκέταις Ἑλλησι βαρβάροις ἐλευθέροις δούλοις
 ὑπερφυῶς θεῖος ὁ νόμος. ἐπιγινώσκω τὰ σύμβολα
 τὰ Διός τε καὶ Λητοῦς, ἐὰν ἦ μόνα ταῦτα.

ξη'.—Μιλησίοις.

Σεισμὸς ὑμῶν τὴν γῆν ἔσεισεν, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλα
 πολλῶν πολλάκις. ἀλλ' ἔπασχον μὲν ἂν ἡτύχοι
 ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐλεοῦντες δέ, οὐ μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους
 ἐφαίνοντο. μόνοι δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ θεοῖς ὅπλα καὶ πῦρ
 ἐπηνέγκατε, καὶ θεοῖς τοιούτοις, ὧν καὶ οἱ ἐτέρωθε
 δέονται καὶ μετὰ κινδύνους καὶ πρὸ κινδύνου
 ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα πρόκριτον ὑμεῖς
 Ἑλλήνων δημοσίᾳ τὸ πάθημα φήναντα πολ-
 λάκις, καὶ προαγορεύσαντα γενομένους τοῦ
 σεισμῶς, αὐτόν, ὅτε ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός, ποιεῖν ἐλέγετο
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. ὦ τῆς δημοσίας ἀμαθίας
 καὶ πατὴρ ὑμῶν λέγεται Θαλῆς.

ξθ'.—Τραλλιανοῖς.

Πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίαι
 νεώτεροί τε καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, φοιτῶσι παρ' ἐμὴν
 τὰς φύσεις οὖν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου σκέπτομαι καὶ τοὺς
 τρόπους, ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα συνετώτατα, τό-
 πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκάστου δίκαιον ἦθος

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LXVII.—TO THE SAME PERSONS.

YOUR temple is thrown open to all who would sacrifice, or offer prayers, or sing hymns, to suppliants, to Hellenes, barbarians, free men, to slaves. Your law is transcendently divine. I could recognise the tokens of Zeus and of Leto, if these were alone.

LXVIII.—TO THE MILESIA NS.

AN earthquake has shaken your land, as has often happened with the countries of many other people. But as the misfortunes which they suffered were unavoidable, so they exhibited towards one another feelings of pity and not of hatred. You alone have hurled against the gods both missiles and fire, and against such gods as people in either case must have, both after danger and before it. Nay more, when a distinguished philosopher of Hellenic race had often warned you publicly of the disaster in store for you, and had foretold the earthquakes that have happened, him, when the god actually shook your land, you began to accuse daily of having brought it about. Alas, for your public folly ; and yet your forefather's name was Thales.

LXIX.—TO THE TRALLIANS.

MANY from all parts, some for one reason and some for another, flock to me both young and old. I then scan the nature of each individual and his manners, as closely as I can, and I mark his disposition towards his own city, to see whether it is just or the reverse ;

τοῦναντίον. εἰς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι
προκρίναι Τραλλιανῶν ὑμῶν οὐ Λυδούς, οὐ
Ἀχαιοὺς, οὐκ Ἰωνας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀρχαίας
Ἑλλάδος Θουρίους Κροτωνιάτας Ταραντίνους,
τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων εὐδαιμόνων.
Ἰταλιωτῶν ἢ ἐτέρων τινῶν. τίς οὖν ἡ αἰτία, δι
ἣν ὑποδέχομαι μὲν ὑμᾶς, οὐ γίνομαι δὲ τοιούτοι
ἀνδράσι σύνοικος, καίπερ ὦν γένος ὑμέτερον
ἄλλοτέ ποτ' ἂν εἴποιμι. νῦν δὲ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπαι
νεῖν καιρὸς ἀνδρας τε τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν, ὧ
πολὺν κρείττους τῶν παρ' ἐτέροις ἀρετῇ καὶ λόγῳ
καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν παρ' οἷς γεγέννηται.

ο'.—Σαίταις.

Ἀθηναίων ἀπόγονοί ἐστε, καθάπερ ἐν Τιμαίῳ
Πλάτων φησίν, οἱ δὲ τὴν κοινὴν ὑμῶν θεὸς
ἐξορίζουσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Νηῖθ μὲν τὴν ὑφ' ὑμῶν
Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομαζομένην, ο
μένοντες Ἕλληνες. ὅπως δ' οὐ μένοντες, ἐγὼ
φράσω· γέρων σοφὸς οὐδεὶς Ἀθηναῖος, οὐ γὰρ ἔφ
γένυς πᾶσα παντός, ὅτι μηδεμία μηδενός. ὁ κόλα
παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις, ὁ συκοφάντης πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν
ὁ μαστροπὸς καὶ πρὸ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν, ὁ παρὰ
σιτος πρὸ τῆς Μουνυχίας καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Πειραιῶς
ἢ θεὸς δὲ οὐδὲ Σούνιον ἔχει.

οα'.—Ἰωσιν.

Ἕλληες οἷεσθε δεῖν ὀνομάζεσθαι διὰ τὰ γέν
καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἀποικίαν, Ἕλλησι δ' ὥσπε

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but until this day, I do not find that I could prefer to you Trallians either Lydians, or Achaeans or Ionians, or even the people of ancient Hellas, the natives of Thurii, or Crotona, or Tarentum or any others of the peoples of Italy yonder who are called happy, or of any other races. What then is the reason, why, so much approving of yourselves, I yet do not take up my residence among so excellent a people, although I am of your own race? I will tell you on some other occasion; but at present I have only time to praise you, and say how much superior are your leading citizens in virtue and in speech to those of other cities, and still more to those among whom they have been.

LXX.—TO THE PEOPLE OF SAIS.

As Plato says in his *Timaeus*, you are the descendants of Athenians, though they have expelled from Attica the goddess you have in common with them, who is called Neith by you, but Athene by them. They have ceased to be Hellenes, and why they have ceased to be, I will tell you. No wise and aged man is an Athenian; for no Athenian ever grew a full beard, since you never saw one of them with any at all. The flatterer is at their doors, the sycophant stands before their gates, the pimp even before their long walls, the parasite in front of Munychia and in front of the Piraeus; as for the goddess she has not even Sunium left to her.

LXXI.—TO THE IONIANS.

You think that you ought to be called Hellenes because of your pedigrees, and because you were

ἔθῃ καὶ νόμοι καὶ γλῶττα καὶ βίος ἴδιος, οὕτω καὶ
 σχῆμα καὶ εἶδος ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ' ὑμῶν γε οὐδὲ
 τὰ ὀνόματα μένει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς νέας
 ταύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολωλέκατε τὰ τῶν προ-
 γόνων σύμβολα. καλῶς οὐδὲ τοῖς τάφοις ἐκεῖνοι
 δέχονται ἂν ἅτε ἀγνώτας αὐτοῖς γενομένους, εἴ γὰρ
 πρότερον ἡρώων ἦν ὀνόματα καὶ ναυμάχων καὶ
 νομοθετῶν, νυνὶ δὲ Λουκούλλων τε καὶ Φαβρικίων
 καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακαρίων. ἐμοὶ μὲν εἴ
 μᾶλλον ὄνομα Μίμνερμος.

οβ'.—Ἑστιάϊφ.

Ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀπολλώνιος ἦν τρίς τοῦ
 Μηνოდότου, σὺ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐθέλεις ὀνομάζεσθαι
 Λουκρίτιος ἢ Λουπερκός. τίνος σὺ τούτων ἀπό-
 γονος; αἰσχρὸν, εἰ ὄνομα μὲν ἔχοις τινός, τὸ δὲ
 εἶδος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔχοις.

ογ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Πατρίδος ἐσμέν πορρωτέρω σὺν δαίμονι, ἤδη δὲ
 τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐν νῷ ἐβαλόμαν. ὁδεύει
 μοῖρα πρὸς τέλος ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τὰν πρώταν λελόγηται
 χασι τιμάν. ἄρξει δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν παιδάρια καὶ
 μικρὸν ἐπάνω τούτων μείρακες. ἐνταῦθά πο-
 δέος, μὴ σφαλῇ τὰ ὑπὸ νέων κυβερνώμενα. σοὶ
 δ' οὐ δέος, ἐπεὶ βεβιώκαμεν.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

once on a time a colony of them ; but just as the Hellenes are characterised by their customs and laws and language and private life so are men in general by their deportment and appearance. But as for you, most of you have abandoned even your names ; nay, owing to this recent prosperity of yours, you have forfeited all tokens of your ancestors. It is quite right therefore that the latter should refuse to welcome you even in their tombs, on the ground that you are no longer recognizable by them. For whereas formerly they bore the names of heroes and sea-captains and legislators, they now bear names such as Lucullus and Fabricius and names of other blessed Lucanians. For myself I would rather be called Mimnermus.

LXXII.—TO HESTIAEUS.

OUR father Apollonius had the name of Menodotus thrice over in his pedigree, but you wish to style yourself once for all Lucretius or Lupercus. Of which of these are you the descendant ? It is a disgrace to have a person's name without also having his countenance.

LXXIII.—TO THE SAME.

I AM far away by God's will from my country, but I always ponder in my mind my city's affairs. The generation of those who won the first honour hastens to its end, and in future it will be a reign of children, and a little later on of babes. Here then is what we have to fear, lest the state governed by youth should go wrong ; but you need not fear, for our lives are over.

οδ'.—τοῖς Στωικοῖς.

"Ωρα καὶ λιμὸς ἦν Βάσσω, καίπερ ὄντων τῶν πατρὶ συχνῶν χρημάτων. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔφυγε Μέγαράδε σὺν ἐνὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐραστῶν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μαστροπῶν—τροφῆς γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις ἔδει καὶ ἐφοδίων—ἔπειτα ἐκείθεν εἰς Συρίαν. ὑπεδέχετο δὲ τὸν ὠραῖον Εὐφράτης, καὶ εἴ τις ὁμοίως ἐδεῖτο τοῦ τότε καλοῦ, ὥστε ἂν αἰρεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὐνοίαν.

οέ'.—τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

Ὁ παῖς Ἀλυνάττεω σῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἀδύνατος ἐγένετο καὶ ἀμήχανος, καίπερ ὢν βασιλεὺς τε καὶ Κροῖσος, ὑμεῖς δὲ ποίῳ πεποιθότες ἄρα λέοντι πόλεμον ἄσπονδον ἤρασθε, παῖδες, νέοι πάντες, ἄνδρες, γέροντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρθένοι καὶ γυναῖκες; Ἐρινύων νομίσαι ἂν τις τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ οὐχὶ Δήμητρος. ἡ δὲ θεὰ φιλάνθρωπος ὑμῖν δὲ τίς οὗτος ὁ χόλος;

ος'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Εἰκὸς εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ μεγάλην ἐθελῆσαι φιλόσοφον ἀρχαῖον παραγενέσθαι, καὶ παρεγενόμην ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκὼν, κληθῆναι μὴ περι

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

LXXIV.—TO THE STOICS.

BASSUS was beautiful, but starving; although his sire had plenty of money. Accordingly he began by fleeing to Megara with one of his lovers so-called, and who was one of his pimps as well; for both the one lot and the other were in need of food and money for the journey. Then he fled thence and turned up in Syria. There the pretty youth met with a warm welcome from Euphrates, and from anyone else who like Euphrates was in need of the latest beauty, and was ready out of mere regard for that sage to choose for himself so odd an ideal.

LXXV.—TO THE PEOPLE OF SARDIS.

THE son of Alyattes was unable to save his own city and had no resources left, though he was a king, and his name Croesus. Well, I would like to know what sort of lion you have put your trust in, that you should have embraced this truceless war among yourselves, children and youths all alike, full-grown men and aged, nay even maidens and women? One would suppose that yours was a city of the Erinyes rather than of Demeter. For this goddess is a lover of mankind, and I would know what all this spleen of yours is about.

LXXVI.—TO THE SAME PERSONS.

It is quite right that an old-fashioned philosopher like myself should be anxious to visit a city so old and considerable as your own; and I would willingly have visited it, without waiting for the invitation

μείνας, ὥς ὑφ' ἐτέρων πολλῶν, εἰ ποιήσῃ μίαν
 ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔμελλον ἥθει καὶ φύσει καὶ νόμῳ
 καὶ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πάντως ἂν ἐποίησα,
 στάσις δέ, ὥς ἔφη τις, πολέμου χαλεπώτερον.

οζ'.—Φοιτηταῖς.

Διὰ φιλοσοφίαν εἴρηται τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστον,
 οὐ δι' Εὐφράτην. μὴ τὸ Πραξιτέλους ξίφος ἢ τὸ
 Λυσίου φάρμακον πεφοβῆσθαί μέ τις δόξη. καὶ
 τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν Εὐφράτου.

οη'.—Ἰάρχα καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν σοφοῖς.

—οὐ μὰ τὸ Ταντάλιον ὕδωρ, οὗ με ἐμύησατε.

οθ'.—Εὐφράτη.

Οὐκ ἐπιλογιζομένη ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ τοῦ σώματος
 αὐτάρκες οὐ δύναται ἑαυτὴν αὐτάρκη ποιῆσαι.

π'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχυλογώτατοι.
 οἱ οὖν ἀδολέσχει εἰ ἡνιῶντο, ὥς ἀνιῶσι, οὐκ ἂν
 ἐμακρηγόρουν.

πα'.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε μηδέποτε αὐτῷ μεταμελῆσαι
 σιγήσαντι, φθεγξαμένῳ δὲ πολλάκις.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

which so many other cities have sent me, if I had any hopes of reconciling your city with morality, or with nature or with law or with God. And I would have done in any case so much as in me lies; only faction, as some one has remarked, is crueller than war.

LXXVII.—TO HIS DISCIPLES.

EVERYTHING that I have ever said, I have said out of consideration for philosophy, and not to please Euphrates. Let no one suppose that I have been afraid of the sword of Praxiteles, or of the poison of Lysias. For this too is the weapon of Euphrates.

LXXVIII.—TO IARCHAS AND HIS SAGES.

. . . No, by the water of Tantalus in which you initiated me. (Cited by Porphyry, *De Styge*, sub fin.)

LXXIX.—TO EUPHRATES.

THE soul which does not take trouble to train the body to be self-sufficing, is not able to make itself content with little. (From the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus, 10, 64.)

LXXX.—TO THE SAME PERSON.

MEN of light and leading use fewest words; for if babblers felt as much annoyance as they inflict, they would not be so long-winded. (36, 29.)

LXXXI.—TO HIS DISCIPLES.

SIMONIDES used to say that he had never had cause to repent of being silent, though he had often repented of having spoken. (33, 12.)

πβ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Πολυλογία πολλὰ σφάλματα ἔχει, τὸ δὲ σιγᾶν ἀσφαλές.

πγ'.—Δηλίῳ.

Ψεύδεσθαι ἀνελεύθερον, ἀλήθεια γενναῖον.

πδ'.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Μηδέν με δόξητε ῥαδίως ἄλλοις παραινεῖν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς μάξης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀκολουθου ταύτῃ διαίτης ὢν, τοιαῦτα ὑμῖν παρεγγυῶ.

πέ'.—Εἰδομένη.

Ἐξηλώσαμεν τὴν αὐτάρκειαν, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς εὐτελέσι καὶ λιτοῖς πάντως χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως θαρρῶμεν πρὸς αὐτά.

πς'.—Μακεδόني.

Τῆς ὀξυθυμίας τὸ ἄνθος μανία.

πζ'.—Ἀριστοκλεῖ.

Τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς πάθος μὴ καθομιλούμενον, μηδὲ θεραπευόμενον, φυσικὴ νόσος γίνεται.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

LXXXII.—TO THE SAME PERSONS.

LOQUACITY has many pit-falls, but silence none.
(36, 28.)

LXXXIII.—TO DELIUS.

To tell a lie is base, to tell the truth is noble.
(11, 20.)

LXXXIV.—TO HIS DISCIPLES.

BELIEVE not that I lightly recommend to others anything. For I myself live upon maize, and I suit the rest of my diet to this dish, and I recommend a similar diet to yourselves. (17, 15.)

LXXXV.—TO IDOMENA.

WE have carefully trained ourselves to be content with little, not in order exclusively to use a cheap and common fare, but in order that we may not shrink therefrom. (17, 14.)

LXXXVI.—TO MACEDON.

QUICKNESS of temper blossoms into madness.
(20, 49.)

LXXXVII.—TO ARISTOKLES.

THE passion of anger, unless it is restrained by social intercourse and so cured, becomes a physical disease. (20, 50.)

πη'.—Σ α τ ύ ο φ.

Οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἁμαρτημάτων συνήγοροι γίνονται, τῶν δὲ ἄλλοτρίων κατήγοροι.

πθ'.—Δ α ν α ῶ.

Οὐ κάμνει τὰ πράγματα πρασσόμενα.

ς'.—Δ ί ω ν ι.

Τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ γενέσθαι πόνος.

ςα'—τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

Οὐδενὶ φθονητέον· ἀγαθοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄξιοι, κακοὶ δ' ἂν εὐτυχῶσι, κακῶς ζῶσι.

ςβ'.—Δ ι ο ν υ σ ί φ.

Καλόν, πρὶν παθεῖν, διδαχθῆναι, πηλίκον ἐστὶν ἡσυχία.

ςγ'.—Ν ο υ μ η ν ί φ.

Οὐ θρηνητέον οἷων φίλων ἐστερήθημεν, ἀλλὰ μνημονευτέον, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὴν καλλίστην βιοτὴν ἐβιοτεύσαμεν.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

LXXXVIII.—To SATYRUS.

MOST men are as apt to palliate their own offences, as they are to condemn them in other people. (23, 15.)

LXXXIX.—To DANAUS.

A task once begun never wearies. (29, 83.)

XC.—To DION.

NOT to exist at all is nothing, but to exist is pain and weariness. (18, 82.)

XCI.—To HIS BROTHERS.

YOU must not feel envious of anyone ; for while good men deserve what they have, the bad live badly even if they are prosperous. (38, 58.)

XCII.—To DIONYSIUS.

IT is a good thing, before you suffer, to have learnt how great a blessing is tranquillity. (58, 12.)

XCIII.—To NUMENIUS.

WE must not mourn the loss of such good friends, but we must remember that the best part of our life was that which we lived in the society of our friends. (124, 35.)

ςδ'.—Θεαιτήτω.

Τὸ λυπούμενον ἄλλοτρίοις κακοῖς παραμυθοῦ.

ςε'.—Κορνηλιανῶ.

Βραχὺς ὁ βίος ἀνθρώπῳ εὖ πράττοντι, δυστυ-
χοῦντι δὲ μακρός.

ςς'.—Δημοκράτει.

Ὁ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀνυπερβλήτως
ὀργιζόμενος οὐκ ἔα διαγνῶναι τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα,
πότε ἔλαττον καὶ πότε μεῖζον ἠδίκησεν.

ςζ'.—Λύκῳ.

Οὐ τὸ πένεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ το
δι' αἰσχρὰν αἰτίαν πένεσθαι ὄνειδος.

EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS

XCIV.—To THEAETETUS.

CONSOLE a mourner by representing to him the ills of other people. (124, 37.)

XCV.—To CORNELIANUS.

LIFE is short for the man who does well, but for him that is unlucky it is long. (121, 34.)

XCVI.—To DEMOCRATES.

ONE who shows excessive anger over small offences prevents the offender from distinguishing, when he has offended in lesser things, and when in greater. (20, 51.)

XCVII.—To LYCUS.

IT is not poverty that is disgraceful by nature, but poverty due to a disgraceful reason is a reproach. (95, 9.)

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ

ΤΙΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ

ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΗΦΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ
ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΝ

I

CAP. ^I Ἄρ' οὖν, ὦ φιλότης, καὶ κείνιά σε τοῦ συγγρα-
φέως ἄξιον ἀποθαυμάζειν, ἃ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ σωτήρῳ
τε καὶ διδασκάλῳ τὸν Ἰουανέα συγκρίνων παρε-
δοξολόγει; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ
Φιλαλήθει, οὕτω γὰρ εὖ ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν
ἐπιγράφειν ἐδόκει λόγον, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη σπουδαῖον
ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἵστασθαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἴδια τυγχά-
νοντα, σφόδρα δὲ ἀναιδῶς ἐξ ἐτέρων οὐκ αὐτοῖς
μονονουχὶ νοήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ συλλα-
βαῖς ἀποσεσυλημένα· ἃ τύχοι μὲν ἂν καὶ αὐτὰ
τῆς προσηκούσης κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπελέγξεως,
δυνάμει δ' ἤδη, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας κατ' αὐτῶν
γραφῆς, ἀνατέτραπται καὶ προαπελήλεγκται ἐν

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS, THE SON OF PAMPHILUS, AGAINST THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA WRITTEN BY PHILOSTRATUS, OCCASIONED BY THE PARALLEL DRAWN BY HIEROCLES BE- TWEEN HIM AND CHRIST

I

So then, my dear friend, you find worthy of no little admiration the parallel¹ which, embellished with many marvels, this author has drawn between the man of Tyana and our own Saviour and teacher. For against the rest of the contents of the "Lover of Truth" (Philalethes), for so he has thought fit to entitle his work against us, it would be useless to take my stand at present; because they are not his own, but have been pilfered in the most shameless manner, not only I may say in respect of their ideas, but even of their words and syllables, from other authorities. Not but what these parts also of his treatise call for their refutation in due season; but to all intents and purposes they have, even in advance of any special work that might be written in answer to them, been upset and exposed beforehand in a work which in

CHAP.

^I
Most of the
Philalethes
already
answered
by Origen

¹ Or perhaps we should render "the parallel this writer has paradoxically drawn," etc.

CAP. ^I ὅλοις ὁκτὼ συγγράμμασι τοῖς Ὀριγένει γραφεῖσι πρὸς τὸν ἀλαζονικώτερον τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἐπιγεγραμμένον Κέλσου Ἀληθῆ λόγον, ᾧ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαραλείπτως, ἐν ὅσοις εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ δεδηλωμένος παραγαγὼν συλλήβδην ὅσα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν παντὶ τῷ εἴρηται τε καὶ εἰρήσεται, προλαβὼν διελύσατο, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαγινώναι ἔχοντας φιλαλήθως ἀναπέμψαντες, φέρε μόνην ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὴν κατὰ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους τουτουὶ λόγου παράθεσιν ἐπισκεψώμεθα, μηδέν τι σπουδαῖον ἡγούμενοι πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐτέρωθεν ὑποσεσυλημένων αὐτῷ διαμάχεσθαι. μόνα δὲ εἰκότως νυνὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐποψόμεθα, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνῳ παρὰ τοὺς πρόποτε καθ' ἡμῶν γεγραφότας ἐξαίρετος νῦν τούτῳ γέγονεν ἡ τοῦδε πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον σωτῆρα παράθεσις τε καὶ σύγκρισις.

II

CAP. ^{II} Θαυμάζει γοῦν καὶ ἀποδέχεται θεία τινὲ καὶ ἀρρήτῳ σοφίᾳ, οὐχὶ δὲ γοητείας σοφίσμασι τεθαυματουργηκέναι φάσκων αὐτόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀληθῶς οὕτως ἔχειν ὥς ἔτυχε πιστεύων, καὶ ἀναποδείκτως ἀπισχυριζόμενος. ἄκουε δ' οὖν, ἅ φησιν αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς. “ ἄνω δὲ καὶ κάτω θρυλοῦσι, σεμνύνοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὥς τυφλοῖς

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THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

as many as eight books Origen composed against the book which Celsus wrote and—even more boastfully than the “Lover of Truth,”—entitled “True Reason.” The work of Celsus is there subjected to an examination in an exhaustive manner and on the scale above mentioned by the author in question, who in his comprehensive survey of all that anyone has said or will ever say on the same topic, has forestalled any solution of your difficulties which I could offer. To this work of Origen I must refer those who in good faith and with genuine “love of truth” desire accurately to understand my own position. I will therefore ask you for the present to confine your attention to the comparison of Jesus Christ with Apollonius which is found in this treatise called the “Lover of Truth,” without insisting on the necessity of our meeting the rest of his arguments, for these are pilfered from other people. We may reasonably confine our attention for the present to the history of Apollonius, because Hierocles, of all the writers who have ever attacked us, stands alone in selecting Apollonius, as he has recently done, for the purposes of comparison and contrast with our Saviour.

II

I NEED not say with what admiring approval he attributes his thaumaturgic feats not to the tricks of wizardry, but to a divine and mysterious wisdom ; and he believes they were truly what he supposes them to have been, though he advances no proof of this contention. Listen then to his very words : “ In their anxiety to exalt Jesus, they run up and down prating of how he made the blind to see and worked

CHAP. II
Hierocles
blames the
deifying of
Jesus

CAP. 11 ἀναβλέψαι παρασχόντα καὶ τινὰ τοιαῦτα δράσαντα θαυμάσια.” εἰτά τινὰ μεταξὺ εἰπὼν ἐπιλέγει· “ἐπισκεψώμεθά γε μὴν, ὅσῳ βέλτιον καὶ συνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἡν περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην.” καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Προκοννήσιον Ἀριστέαν καὶ Πυθαγόραν ὡς ἂν ἀρχαιοτέρους παρελθὼν ἐπιφέρει λέγων· “ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν Νέρωνος βασιλείαν Ἀπολλώνιος ἤκμασεν ὁ Τυανεύς, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς κομιδῇ νέου καὶ ἀφ’ οὐπερ ἐν Αἰγαῖς τῆς Κιλικίας ἱεράσατο τῷ φιλανθρωπῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ διεπράξατο, ὧν τὰ πλείω παρεῖς ὀλίγων ποιήσομαι μνήμην.” εἰτα καταλέγει ἀπὸ πρώτου ἀρξάμενος τὰ παράδοξα, μεθ’ ἃ καὶ ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν· “τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα τούτων ἐμνήσθην; ἵν’ ἐξη συγκρίναι τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ κρίσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν κουφότητα, εἴπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότα οὐ θεόν, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα ἡγούμεθα, οἱ δὲ δι’ ὀλίγας τερατείας τινὰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν θεὸν ἀναγορεύουσι.” τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μεθ’ ἕτερα φάσκων· “κακεῖνο λογίσασθαι ἄξιον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος καὶ τινες τούτοις παραπλήσιοι κεκομπάκασιν, ἄνθρωποι ψεύσται καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι καὶ γόητες, τὰ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰγιεὺς καὶ Δάμις ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ συνδιατρίψας αὐτῷ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἤκουτες, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς τιμῶντες διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἀνδρὸς γενναίου καὶ θεοῖς φίλου πράξεις μὴ βουλόμενοι

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

certain other miracles of the kind." Then after an interval he adds as follows: "Let us note however how much better and more sensible is the view which we take of such matters, and explain the conception which we entertain of men gifted with remarkable powers." And thereupon after passing heedlessly by Aristeas of Proconnesus and Pythagoras as somewhat too old, he continues thus: "But in the time of our own ancestors, during the reign of Nero, there flourished Apollonius of Tyana, who from mere boyhood when he became the priest in Aegae of Cilicia of Asclepius, the lover of mankind, worked any number of miracles, of which I will omit the greater number, and only mention a few." Then he begins at the beginning and enumerates the wonders worked by Apollonius, after which he continues in the following words: "What then is my reason for mentioning these facts? It was in order that you may be able to contrast our own accurate and well-established judgment on each point, with the easy credulity of the Christians. For whereas we reckon him who wrought such feats not a god, but only a man pleasing to the gods, they on the strength of a few miracles proclaim their Jesus a god." To this he adds after a little more the following remark: "And this point is also worth noticing, that whereas the tales of Jesus have been vamped up by Peter and Paul and a few others of the kind,—men who were liars and devoid of education and wizards,—the history of Apollonius was written by Maximus of Aegae, and by Damis the philosopher who lived constantly with him, and by Philostratus of Athens, men of the highest education, who out of respect for the truth and their love of mankind determined to give the publicity

CHAP.
II

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
II λαθεῖν.” ταῦτα ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς Ἱεροκλεῖ τῷ
τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιγεγραφότι Φιλαλήθη λόγον
εἴρηται.

III

CAP.
III Δάμις μὲν οὖν ὁ τὰ πολλὰ ξυνδιατρίψας τῷ
Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων γῆς ὁρμώμενος,
αὐτόθι τε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας αὐτῷ
συμμίξας, τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῷ
γενομένην συνουσίαν ἱστόρησεν, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος
κομιδῇ βραχέα τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πεπραγ-
μένων ἀνεγράψατο, ὃ γε μὴν Ἀθηναῖος Φιλό-
στρατος τὰ φερόμενα πάντα ὁμοῦ, ἀπὸ τε τῶν
Μαξίμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δάμιδος καὶ ἄλλων, συνα-
γαγεῖν ἑαυτὸν φήσας, πάντων μάλιστα ἐντελῆ
τὴν ἀπὸ γενέσεως καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἱστορίαν
τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα βίου πεποιήται.

IV

CAP.
IV Εἰ δὲ οὖν ἐξὸν τὴν ἐπικατηγόρουμένην ἡμῶν
εὐχέρειάν τε καὶ κουφότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Φιλαλ-
ήθους ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ παραθεῖναι
κρίσιν, φέρε διαπυθώμεθα, οὐχ ὅστις θεϊότερος
γεγόνει, οὐδ’ ὁποῖος θαυμασιώτερά τε καὶ πλείω
διεπράξατο παράδοξα, οὐδ’ ὥς μόνος παρὰ τοῖς

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

they deserved to the actions of a man at once noble and a friend of the gods." These are the very words used by Hierocles in his treatise against us which he has entitled " Lover of Truth."

III

Now Damis who spent so much of his time with Apollonius was a native of Assyria, where for the first time, on his own soil, he came into contact with him; and he wrote an account of his intercourse with the person in question from that time onwards. Maximus however wrote quite a short account of a portion only of his career. Philostratus, however, the Athenian, tells us that he collected all the accounts that he found in circulation, using both the book of Maximus and that of Damis himself and of other authors; so he compiled the most complete history of any of this person's life, beginning with his birth and ending with his death.

IV

If then we may be permitted to contrast the reckless and easy credulity which he goes out of his way to accuse us of, with the accurate and well-founded judgment on particular points of the " Lover of Truth," let us ask at once, not which of them was the more divine nor in what capacity one worked more wondrous and numerous miracles than the other; nor let us lay stress on the point that our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was the only man of

CHAP.
II

CHAP.
III
Sources of
Life of
Apollonius

CHAP.
IV
Inferior rôle
accom-
plished by
Apollonius

CAP. ^{IV} ἀνέκαθεν πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἐτῶν γενομένοις Ἑβραίων σοφοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἤξειν εἰς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ θείαν ἐπιπνοίαν προπεφήτευτο, οὐδ' ὥς πλείους ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ λόγον προὔτρέψατο, οὐδ' ὥς γνησίους καὶ ὄντως ἀληθεῖς ἐκτήσατο φοιτητάς, μονονούχῃ καὶ ὑπεραποθνήσκειν ἐτοίμως τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένους, οὐδ' ὥς μόνος σώφρωνος βίου διδασκαλεῖον καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον συνεστήσατο, οὐδ' ὥς τῇ ἰδίᾳ θεότητί τε καὶ ἀρετῇ πᾶσαν ἔσωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν μυρία πλήθη πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν ἑαυτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδ' ὥς τῶν πώποτε μόνος πρὸς ἀπάντων σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἀρχομένων, πλείστοις ἔτεσιν ἤδη πολεμούμενος, κρείττων καὶ πολὺ δυνατώτερος τῶν πικρῶς ἐλαυνόντων ἀπίστων ἀποδέδεικται θείᾳ καὶ ἀρρήτῳ δυνάμει, τοὺς μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπανισταμένους αὐτοῦ τῇ θείᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ ῥαδίως μετιών, τὸν δὲ παγέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδοθέντα θεῖον λόγον εἰς ἄπειρον αἰῶνα καθ' ὅλης κρατύνων τῆς οἰκουμένης, οὐδ' ὥς εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐνθέου δυνάμεως τῇ ἀρετῇ ἐπιδείκνυται, μοχθηροὺς τινὰς καὶ φαύλους δαίμονας, ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ σώμασιν ἐφεδρεύοντας, ἀπελαύνων διὰ μόνης τῆς ἀρρήτου προσηγορίας αὐτοῦ, ὥς αὐτῇ πείρᾳ κατειλήφμεν, ταῦτα γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ζητεῖν, μὴ καὶ τὸ ἐρωτᾶν, ἀνόητον· μόνην δὲ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὴν τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφὴν, δι' ἧς εὐθυνοῦμεν,

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

whom it was prophesied, thanks to their divine inspiration, by Hebrew sages who lived far back thousands of years ago, that he should once come among mankind; nor on the fact that he converted to his own scheme of divine teaching so many people; nor that he formed a group of genuine and really sincere disciples, of whom almost without exaggeration it can be said that they were prepared to lay down their lives for his teaching at a moment's call; nor that he alone established a school of sober and chaste living which has survived him all along; nor that by his peculiar divinity and virtue he saved the whole inhabited world, and still rallies to his divine teaching races from all sides by tens of thousands; nor that he is the only example of a teacher who, after being treated as an enemy for so many years, I might almost say, by all men, subjects and rulers alike, has at last triumphed and shown himself far mightier, thanks to his divine and mysterious power, than the infidels who persecuted him so bitterly, those who in their time rebelled against his divine teaching being now easily won over by him, while the divine doctrine which he firmly laid down and handed on has come to prevail for ages without end all over the inhabited world; nor that even now he displays the virtue of his godlike might in the expulsion, by the mere invocation of his mysterious name, of sundry troublesome and evil demons which beset men's bodies and souls, as from our own experience we know to be the case. To look for such results in the case of Apollonius, or even to ask about them, is absurd. So we will merely examine the work of Philostratus, and by close scrutiny of it show that

CHAP.
IV

CAP.
IV

ὥς οὐχ ὅτι γε ἐν φιλοσόφοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ἐπιεικέσι καὶ μετρίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄξιον ἐγκρίνειν, οὐχ ὅπως τῷ σωτήρι ἡμῶν Χριστῷ παρατιθένα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Φιλαλήθει παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἤκοντος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς μὴ τιμῶντος συγγραφέως. τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Φιλόστρατος, ἐξ οὗ ῥαδίως ἂν καταμάθοιμεν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡκόντων, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐξητασμένως μὴ ἀπηκριβωμένων τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἱστορίας. τούτων γὰρ ἡμῖν διευκρινηθέντων ὁμοῦ, τοῦ τε Φιλαλήθους τὰ ἀνωτάτω τε καὶ καθ' ὅλων δικαστήρια διειληφότος, ἢ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν βεβαία καί, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ δοκεῖ, ἀκριβὲς ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ κρίσις φανερά καταστήσεται, ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν οἱ μωροὶ καὶ βεβουκολημένοι νενομίσμεθα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουμένη εὐχέρειά τε καὶ κουφότης.

V

CAP.
V

Ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ὁμόσε χωρῶν αὐτόθεν διέβαλλεν ἂν, βλασφημῶν ὥς ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πολέμιον τὸν καθ' οὗ τὸν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, ἐγὼ δέ, ἐταῖρε, σοφόν τινα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τὸν Ὑμανέα γεγονέναι ἡγούμην, καὶ ἔτι γε τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεσθαι διανοίας ἐκὼν εἶναι

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

Apollonius was not fit to be classed, I will not say CHAP. IV among philosophers, but even among men of integrity and good sense, much less to be compared with our Saviour Christ, so far as we can depend on the work of a writer who, though according to the "Lover of Truth," he was highly educated, was in any case no respecter of truth. For such is his description of Philostratus the Athenian among others. In this way we shall easily appreciate the value of the rest of the authorities, who though, according to him, they were most highly educated, yet never by actual sifting of the facts, established them with any accuracy in the case of Apollonius. For when we have thoroughly examined these facts, we shall no doubt obtain a clear demonstration of the solidity and, as he imagines to himself, of the accuracy, in detail of the condemnation which the "Lover of Truth," who has at the same time taken possession of the supreme courts all over the province, passes on Christians, and at the same time of what they are pleased to call our reckless and facile credulity, for we are accounted by them to be mere foolish and deluded mortals.

V

ANOTHER controversialist, by way of beginning CHAP. V the affray, would without demur abuse and malign the man against whom he directed his arguments, The laws of Nature on the ground that he was his enemy and adversary; I, however, my friend, used to regard the man of Tyana as having been, humanly speaking, a kind of sage, and I am still freely disposed to adhere to this

CAP.
V

βουλοίμην, καί σοι τὴν αὐτὸς ἑμαυτοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ
δόξαν ἐκθείην ἂν ἐρωτῶντι φιλοσόφων μὲν ὅτῳ
τις βούλοιτο συγκαταλέγειν τὸν ἄνδρα, πέρα
μηδὲν διενοχλῶν ταῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ μυθολογίαις, μὴ
φθονεῖν, εἰ δ' ὑπερπηδᾷ τοὺς ὅρους καὶ φιλο-
σοφίας ὑπέρτερα φρονεῖν εἴτε τις Δάμις Ἀσσύριος,
εἴτε Φιλόστρατος, εἴτε τις συγγραφεὺς ἢ λογογρά-
φος θρασύνοιτο, λόγῳ μὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος γοητεῖαν,
ἔργοις δὲ πλέον ἢ ῥήμασιν ἐπιφορτίζων τὸν ἄνδρα,
προσωπείου δίκην τὴν Πυθαγόρειον ἐπιμορφαζό-
μενος ἀγωγὴν, οἰχήσεται μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόσοφος,
ὅνος δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ λέοντος ἐπικρυπτόμενος δέρρει,
σοφιστὴς τις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγείρων κατὰ τὰς πόλεις,
αὐτό τε τοῦτο γόης ἀτεχνῶς ἀντὶ φιλοσόφου
φωραθήσεται.

VI

CAP.
VI

Πῶς δὲ τοῦτό φημι καὶ πόθεν ὀρμώμενος,
ἐρωτᾷς; μάθανε ὅροι φύσεως ἀρχὰς καὶ μέσα
καὶ τέλη τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας περιειληφότες,
μέτρα καὶ θεσμοὶ ἅπασιν, δι' ὧν τόδε τὸ πᾶν
μηχάνημά τε καὶ ἀρχιτεκτόνημα τοῦ παντὸς
κόσμου τελεδιουργεῖται, διατίθενται νόμοις ἀλύ-
τοις καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτοις, τῆς τὰ πάντα οἰκono-
μούσης προνοίας τὸ πάνσοφον βούλημα διαφυλάτ-
τοντες. οὐκ οὐκ κινήσειέ τι καὶ μεταθείη τις ἂν

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

opinion ; and I would like to set before you, if you ^{CHAP.} ask it, my own personal opinion of him. If anyone ^V wishes to class him with any philosopher you like, and to forget all the legends about him and not bore me with them, I am quite agreeable. Not so if anyone ventures, whether he be Damis the Assyrian, or Philostratus, or any other compiler or chronicler, to overleap the bounds of humanity and transcend philosophy, and while repelling the charge of wizardry in word, yet to bind it in act rather than in name upon the man, using the mask of Pythagorean discipline to disguise what he really was. For in that case his reputation for us as a philosopher will be gone, and we shall have an ass instead concealed in a lion's skin ; and we shall detect in him a sophist in the truest sense, cadging for alms among the cities, and a wizard, if there ever was one, instead of a philosopher.

VI

Do you ask me what I mean and what are my ^{CHAP.} reasons for speaking thus ? I will tell you. There ^{VI} are bounds of nature which prescribe and circumscribe the existence of the universe in respect of its beginnings and of its continuance and of its end, being limits and rules imposed on everything. By these this entire mechanism and edifice of the whole universe is constantly being brought to perfection ; and they are arranged by unbreakable laws and indissoluble bonds, and they guard and observe the all-wise will of a Providence which dispenses and disposes all things. Now no one can change or alter the place and order of anything that has been once

CAP.
VI

τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἅπαξ διατεθειμένων. κεκρίνεται δ' οὖν θεσμῷ φύσεως τὸν θεῖον ὑπεραναβαίνειν νόμον πᾶς, ὅτῳ τις θρασύτερος τῶν ἐπέκεινα ἐπιβαίνειν ἔνεστι πόθος. οὐτ' οὖν παρὰ φύσιν ὁ ἔνυδρος ἐπὶ τὴν χέρσον μεταβὰς βιώνει δυνήσεται ἰχθύς, οὔτε τὸ ἐν χέρσῳ τραφὲν τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐγκαταδύσεται, τὴν ἐκείσε διηνεκὴ μονὴν ἀσπαζόμενον, οὔτε μέγα πηδήσας μετέωρός τις τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀρθήσεται πρὸς αἴρα, συμπεριπολεῖν αἰετοῖς ἐπιθυμῶν· καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνοί γε καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔλθοιεν βρίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῦ πτεροῦ χαλάσαντες καὶ ἀνέντες τὴν φύσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο θείοις ὥριστα νόμοις, ἐκ τοῦ ὕψους τὸ μετέωρον ὑποκαταβαίνειν δύνασθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἔμπαλιν τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ γεῶδες ἐπὶ τὸ μετέωρον αἶρεσθαι. ταύτῃ δὴ καὶ τὸ θνητὸν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ψυχῆς μετέχον καὶ σώματος, ὅροις περιγέγραπται θείοις. οὐτ' οὖν τῷ σώματι δι' αἴρος ἔλθοι ποτὲ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τις καταφρονήσας διατριβῶν, μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦπιτίμιον αὐτίκα τῆς ἀνοίας παρασχών, οὔτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρθεὶς φρονήματι καθίξεται τῶν ἀνεφίκτων, ἢ μελαγχολίας νοσήματι ἂν περιπέσοι.

Σωφρονοὶ δ' ἂν ἀρτίοις μὲν τὸ σῶμα ποσὶν ἐπὶ γῆς φερόμενος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ σκηρίπτων· εὗξαιτο δὲ καὶ τινα συνεργὸν ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἐκ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν διατριβῶν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τῆς ἐκείσε διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ φανῆναι σωτηρίας.

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

arranged; and if anyone is so venturesome as to wish to transcend his limits, he is restrained from transgressing divine law by the rule and decree of nature. So it is that the fish that lives in the waters is unable in defiance of nature to change on to dry land and live there; and on the other hand the creature bred on dry land will not plunge into the waters, and embrace there any permanent repose or abode; nor by any huge leap can any tenant of earth raise himself aloft into the air, from a desire to soar about with the eagles; and in turn, although of course the latter can alight upon the earth, by depressing and lowering their faculty of flight, and by relaxing the working of their wings, and renouncing the privilege of nature,—for this too is determined by the divine laws, namely that beings able to soar aloft are able to descend from on high,—yet the converse is not possible, so that the lowly habitant of earth should ever raise himself into the welkin. In this way then the mortal race of men, while provided with soul and body, is yet circumscribed by divine bounds. Consequently he can never traverse the air with his body, however much he scorns to linger upon the paths of earth, without instantly paying the penalty of his folly; nor by spiritual exaltation can he in his thinking attain to the unattainable, without falling back into the disease of melancholy.

It is wisest then for him, on the one hand to transport his body along the ground with the feet given him for the purpose, and on the other hand to sustain his soul with education and philosophy. But he may well pray that some one may come to help him from aloft from the paths of heaven, and reveal himself to him as a teacher of the salvation that is

CHAP.
VI

Possibility
of a Saviour
descending
to earth

CAP.
VI

ἐρρωμένῳ γάρ τοι παραδείγματι, νοσοῦντι μὲν τὸν
 ἱατρὸν ἐπιφοιτᾶν θέμις, καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον εἰσα-
 γομένῳ τοῖς μαθήμασι συμφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἄνω
 που καὶ ἐν ὕψει συγκατίνειν τοῖς ταπεινοῖς, οὐ
 μὴν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν. ὅθεν δὴ θεῖαν μὲν φύσιν,
 εὐεργέτιν οὖσαν καὶ σώτειραν καὶ προνοητικὴν
 τῶν ἐπιόντων ἀνθρώποις ποτὲ εἰς ὀμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν
 οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀπείργοι λόγος ὄρω θείας προνοίας καὶ
 τούτου συγκεχωρημένου, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τὸν
 Πλάτωνα, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς ἐγγίνεται
 φθόνος· οὐκ οὖν σωμάτων μόνων, ἀγαθὸς ὢν, ὁ τόδε
 τὸ πᾶν διακυβερνῶν ἐπιμελήσεται, πολὺ πλεον δὲ
 ψυχῶν, αἷς τὸ ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ αὐτοκρατορικὸν
 κεχάρισται γέρας. ταύταις δῆτα οἷα τῆς οἰκονο-
 μίας ἀπάσης κύριος ὢν, καὶ χαρίτων, ὧν ἄν,
 δωρούμενος αὐτάς, εὐεργετῇ τὴν φύσιν, οὖσαις
 ἀντιληπτικαῖς, ἀκτῖνας ὥσπερ τοῦ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ
 φωτὸς δωρήσεται ἀφθόνως, τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ἔστιν
 ὅτε, τοὺς μάλιστα προσεχεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπίταδε
 σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἐκπέμπων, ὧν εἴ τω
 εὐτυχῆσαι γένοιτο, τὴν διάνοιαν οὗτος ἀποκαθ-
 αρθεὶς καὶ τὴν τῆς θνητότητος ἀποσκεδάσας
 ἀχλύν, θεῖος ἀληθῶς ἀναγραφήσεται, μέγαν τινὰ
 θεὸν ἀγαλματοφορῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. κινήσειε δῆτ'
 ἂν οἷα τηλικούτος τὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων γένος, καὶ
 μᾶλλον ἡλίου τὴν οἰκουμένην καταλάμψει, τοῦρ-
 γον τῆς αἰδίου θεότητος καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα συν-
 ορᾶσθαι καταλείπων χρόνον, οὐ μείον τῶν ἐξ
 ἀψύχου ὕλης δημιουργημάτων τὸ τῆς ἐνθέου
 παράδειγμα φύσεως παρεσχημένος. καὶ ταύτῃ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

there. For the following is a valid example to use : CHAP. VI
as it is right for the physician to visit the sick,
and for the teacher to accommodate himself to the
pupil who is entering upon his studies, and for a
superior to quit his heights and condescend to the
lowly, yet the converse is not right or possible. It
follows then that there is no reason to prevent a
divine nature, being beneficent and inclined to save
and take providential care of things to come, from
associating itself with men, for this is allowed also by
the rule of divine providence ; for according to Plato
God was good, and no good being can ever feel any
jealousy of any thing. It follows that the controller
of this universe, being good, will not care for our
bodies alone, but much more for our souls, upon
which he has conferred the privilege of immortality
and free-will. On these then, as lord of the entire
economy and of gifts of grace his bestowal of which
will benefit our nature, he will, they being able
to appreciate his bounty, bestow plenteously an
illumination as it were of the light which streams
from him, and will despatch the most intimate of his
own messengers from time to time, for the salvation
and succour of men here below. Of these messengers
anyone so favoured by fortune, having cleansed his
understanding and dissipated the mist of mortality,
may well be described as truly divine, and as
carrying in his soul the image of some great god.
Surely so great a personality will stir up the entire
human race, and illuminate the world of mankind
more brightly than the sun, and will leave the effects
of his eternal divinity for the contemplation of future
ages, in no less a degree affording an example of the
divine and inspired nature than creations of artists

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VI. μὲν ἀνθρωπεΐα φύσις τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον κοινων-
ήσαι ἄν, ἄλλως δ' οὐ θέμις τοὺς ὅρους ὑπερβαίνειν,
οὐδ' ἄπτερον ἔχοντα τὸ σῶμα τὰ τῶν πτηνῶν
ἐπιτηδεύειν, οὐδ' ἄνθρωπον ὄντα τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων
πολυπραγμονεῖν.

VII

CAP. VII. Τίνα δῆτα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον
εἰσάγεις, ὃ συγγραφεύ; εἰ μὲν δὴ θεῖον καὶ φιλο-
σόφου κρείττονα, τήν τε φύσιν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ
ἄνθρωπον, τήρει μοι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν
ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ τοῦργον εἰσέτι νῦν ἐπιδείκνυθι τῆς
θειότητος. ἥ γὰρ οὐκ ἀτοπώτατον τεκτόνων μὲν
καὶ οἰκοδόμων καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν δημιουργῶν
τελευτὴν ἐπὶ μήκιστον τοῦργον διαρκεῖν, ἀθάνατόν
που σχέδὸν τῶν συστησαμένων τὴν μνήμην στη-
λιτεῦον, θείαν δὲ ἄρα φύσιν, ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλάμψα-
σαν, σκότιόν πού καὶ μινυνθάδιον ἀποτελεῖν, οὐχὶ
δὲ εἰς αἰῶνα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μὴ εἰς
ἓνα τινὰ Δάμιν ἢ καὶ ἄλλους βραχεῖς πτωχεύου-
σαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' εἰς μυρίων ὅσων
ὠφελείας οὐ τῶν καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐγνωρίζετο
μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένων
τὴν πάροδον ποιουμένην; ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τοὺς
πάλαι σοφοὺς ζηλωτάς τε καὶ διαδόχους ποιή-
σασθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώ-
ποις παρειασμένους τὸ κατόρθωμα. εἰ δὲ

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made of lifeless matter. To this extent then human nature can participate in the super-human; but otherwise it cannot lawfully transcend its bounds, nor with its wingless body emulate the bird, nor being a man must one meddle with what appertains to demons.

CHAP.
VI

VII

IN what light then, this being so, do you envisage for us Apollonius, my good compiler? If as a divine being and superior to a philosopher, in a word as one superhuman in his nature, I would ask you to keep to this point of view throughout your history, and to point me out effects wrought by his divinity enduring to this day. For surely it is an absurdity that the works of carpenters and builders should last on ever so long after the craftsmen are dead, and raise as it were an immortal monument to the memory of their constructive ability; and yet that a human character claimed to be divine should, after shedding its glory upon mankind, finish in darkness its short-lived career, instead of displaying for ever its power and excellence. Instead of being so niggardly liberal to some one individual like Damis and to a few other short-lived men, it should surely make its coming among us the occasion of blessings, conferred on myriads not only of his contemporaries, but also of his posterity. This I ween is how the sages of old raised up earnest bands of disciples, who continued their tradition of moral excellence, sowing in men's hearts a spirit truly immortal of progress and reform. If on the other hand you attribute to this

CHAP
VII
Was Apol-
lonius a
divine
being?

CAP. VII. θνητὴν ὑπογράφεις τάνδρὸς τὴν φύσιν, ὅρα μὴ πλέον, ἢ προσῆκε, ταύτῃ χαριζόμενος δίκην ἀποίσεις παραλογίας.

VIII

CAP. VIII. Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰσῆκται αὐτῷ θεῖος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ θαλαττίου δαίμονος σχῆμά τε καὶ προσωπεῖον ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀναλαμβάνων. κυούσῃ γάρ, ὥς φησι, τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ φάσμα ἦλθε θαλαττίου δαίμονος, Πρωτεύς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων. ἡ δὲ οὐδὲν δείσασα ἤρετο αὐτόν, τί ἀποκνήσοι, ὁ δέ, “ἐμέ,” εἶπε· “σὺ δὲ τίς;” εἰπούσης, “Πρωτεύς,” ἔφη, “ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.” εἵτα δὲ λειμῶνά τινα, καὶ κύκνους τὴν γυναῖκα μαιεύεσθαι γράφει, ὁπόθεν αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ εἶη ληφθέν, μὴ εἰπών· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτου ὑφηγητὴν Δάμιν τὸν Ἀσσύριον ὑπογράψεται. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῷ Δάμιδι, οἷα δὴ θείας ὄντα φύσεως, τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰσάγει αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα λέγοντα· “ἐγώ, ὦ ἐταῖρε, πασῶν τῶν φωνῶν ξυνίημι, μαθὼν οὐδεμίαν.” καί, “μὴ θαυμάσης, οἶδα γὰρ καὶ ἅ σιωπῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι.” καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τιμώμενον πρὸς τοῦ δαίμονος, καὶ πρόγνωσιν φυσικὴν τινα καὶ ἀδίδακτον ἔχειν ἐκ παιδός, κρείττονά τε ἀτεχνῶς ἀνθρώπου φῦναι αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γενέσεως

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

man a mortal nature, take care lest by endowing him CHAP. VII with gifts which transcend mortality, you convict yourself of fallacy and miscalculation.

VIII

BUT enough of this. His hero is introduced to us CHAP. VIII as a divine man, who assumes from birth the guise and personality of a demon of the sea. For he says that to his mother when she was about to bear her child, there appeared the figure of a demon of the sea, namely Proteus, who in the story of Homer ever changes his form. But she, in no way frightened, asked him what she would bring to birth; and he replied: "Myself." Then she asked: "And who are you?" "Proteus," he replied, "of Egypt." And then he writes about a certain meadow and about swans, that assisted the lady to bear her child, though without telling us whence he derived this particular; for assuredly he does not attribute this story to Damis the Assyrian writer. But a little further on in the same history he represents Apollonius as using, in token of his being of a divine nature these very words to Damis himself: "I myself, my companion, understand all languages though I have learned none." And again he says to him: "Do not be surprised, for I know what men are thinking about, even when they are silent." And again in the temple of Asclepius he was much honoured by the god, and is said to have possessed a certain natural gift of prescience, which he did not acquire by learning, from very childhood. We learn, in a word, that he was born superior to mankind in

CAP.
VIII

καὶ δι' ὅλης ἡμῖν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπογράφει. λύσαν-
τος γοῦν ἑαυτὸν ποτε ἀπὸ δεσμῶν ἐπιφέρει λέγων·
“τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι
τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἴη καὶ
κρείττων ἀνθρώπου. μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς
γὰρ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ εἰπόντα
τι καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ.” ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ
τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ μηδόλως ποι γῆς εὐρίσκεσθαι,
χωρῆσαι δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτῷ σώματι μεθ' ὕμνων
καὶ χορείας λέγει. εἰκότως δὴ οὖν οἶα ὄντα
τοσοῦτον “θειότερον ἢ Πυθαγόρας Ἐμπεδοκλῆς
τε καὶ Πλάτων φιλοσοφία” τὸν ἄνδρα προσεληλυ-
θέναι φησὶν. οὐκοῦν ἐν θεοῖς ἡμῖν διὰ τούτων
ἀναγεγράφθω ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

IX

CAP.
IX.

Καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἀπέστω τῆς τῶν φωνῶν ἀπασῶν
αὐτοφνουῖς καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτου συνέσεως. τί δῆτα
οὖν ἐς διδασκάλου ἄγει αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν μηδεμίαν
φωνὴν μεμαθηκότα διαβάλλει ὥς ἂν ἐξ ἀσκή-
σεως καὶ μελέτης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως Ἀττικὸν
γενόμενον τὴν γλῶτταν; φησὶ γάρ τοι, ὥς
“προῖὼν ἐς ἡλικίαν γράμματά τε καὶ μνήμης
ἰσχὺν ἐδήλου καὶ μελέτης κράτος καὶ ἡ γλῶττα
αὐτῷ ἀττικῶς εἶχε.” καὶ “γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν
ἔτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἄγει ἐς Ταρσοῦς ὁ πατήρ
παρ' Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης, ὃς ῥήτωρ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

general, and so he is described from the first moment of his birth throughout his history. Anyhow on one occasion after he had loosed himself from his bonds, his historian adds the remark: "Then Damis declares he for the first time clearly understood the nature of Apollonius, that it was divine and superior to humanity. For without offering any sacrifice,—for how could he offer one in the prison?—and without offering any prayer, without a single word, he just laughed at his fetters." And at the end of the book ¹ we learn that his grave was nowhere to be found on earth; but that he went to heaven in his physical body accompanied by hymns and dances. Naturally if he was so great as he is described in the above, he may be said "to have wooed philosophy in a more divine manner than Pythagoras, or Empedocles, or Plato." For these reasons we must surely class the man among the gods.

CHAP.
VIII

IX

WELL, we will not grudge him his natural and self-taught gift of understanding all languages. But if he possessed it, why was he taken to a school-master, and if he had never learnt any language whatever, why does his historian malign him and declare that, not by nature, but by dint of close study and application, he acquired the Attic dialect? For he tells us outright "that as he advanced in youth he displayed a knowledge of letters and great power of memory, and force of application, and that he spoke the Attic dialect." We also learn that "when he reached his fourteenth year his father took him to Tarsus, to Euthydemus of Phoenicia, who was a good

CHAP.
IX
If Apol-
lonius was
divine why
did he need
schooling?

¹ Or render: "And at death we," etc.

CAP.
IX

τε ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ ἐπαίδευε τοῦτον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου εἶχετο.” εἶτα “ξυνεφιλοσόφουν αὐτῷ Πλατώνειοί τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου. διήκουε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δὲ Πυθαγορείους ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ σοφίᾳ ξυνελάμβανε.” τοσαῦτα ὁ μηδεμίαν μαθὼν φωνὴν θείᾳ τε δυνάμει “ἂ καὶ σιωπῶσιν ἄνθρωποι” προλαβὼν ἐξεπαιδεύετο.

X

CAP.
X

Ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν αὐθις αὐτὸν θαυμάζει, ἐς ὅσον συνέσεως τῆς τῶν ζώων φωνῆς ἦλθε, καὶ ἐπιφέρει λέγων, “καὶ ἐς ξύνεσιν δὲ τῆς τῶν ζώων φωνῆς ἦλθε, καὶ ἔμαθε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τῶν Ἀραβίων πορευόμενος, ἄριστα γινγνωσκόντων τε καὶ πραττόντων αὐτό. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἀραβίων κύκνων ἤδη καὶ ὀρνίθων μαντευομένων ἀκούειν, ὅποσα οὐ χρησμοί. ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτοῦμενοι τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἥπαρ.” ἐνταῦθα πάντως πού δρακόντων καρδίας δῆπου καὶ ἥπατος τὸν Πυθαγόρειον ἐμψύχων τε τροφῆς ἀπεχόμενον καὶ μηδὲ θύειν daίμοσιν ἐπιτολμῶντα, εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπογεύσασθαι, ὥς ἂν καὶ τῆς παρὰ τούτοις κοινωνήσοι σοφίας. πρὸς γὰρ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

rhetor, and gave him his education, while Apollonius ^{CHAP.}clung to his teacher." We further learn that "he ^{IX} had as fellow-students members of the school of Plato and of Chrysippus and members of the Peripatetic set. That he also diligently listened to the doctrines of Epicurus, because he did not despise even them, though he grasped the teachings of Pythagoras with a certain indescribable wisdom." So varied was the education of one who had never learnt any language, and who by his divine power anticipated "the thoughts of men even when they are silent."

X

AND after an interval our author again expresses ^{CHAP.}his admiration at the ease with which Apollonius ^X understood the language of animals, and he goes on ^{He knew the language of animals} to tell us the following: "And moreover he acquired an understanding of the language of animals; and he learnt this, too, in the course of his travels through Arabia, where the inhabitants best know this language and practise it. For the Arabians have a way of understanding without difficulty swans and other birds when they presage the future in the same way as oracles. And they get to understand the dumb animals by eating, so they say, some of them the heart and others the liver of dragons." In this instance, then, it seems anyhow to have been the case that the Pythagorean who abstained from animal food and could not even bring himself to sacrifice to the gods, devoured the heart and liver of dragons, in order to participate in a form of wisdom that was in vogue among the Arabs. After learning

CAP. X. ποιῶνδε διδασκομένῳ, πῶς ἂν ἄλλως μὴ οὐχὶ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς διδασκάλοις ζηλώσαντι κατωρθοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα; ἔχομεν δὴ οὖν πρὸς τοῖς καταλελεγμένοις καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίων σοφούς, διδασκάλους τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰωνιστικὴν τὰνδρὸς ἐπιστήμης, ἀφ' ἧς εἰκότως ὀρμώμενος ὕστερόν ποτε τὸν στρουθόν, ὃ τι καὶ βούλοιτο συγκαλῶν τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τροφήν, προειπών, θαῦμα μέγιστον παρέχειν ἔδοξε τοῖς παροῦσι. ταύτῃ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀπεσφαγμένην ὅσον οὐπω λείναν ἅμα τοῖς ὀκτὼ σκύμνοις κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἀσσυρίους ὁδὸν θεασάμενος, αὐτίκα τῷ θεάματι συμβαλὼν τῆς ἐσομένης αὐτῷ παρὰ Πέρσαις διατριβῆς τὸν χρόνον ἐμαντεύσατο.

XI

CAP. XI. Ἀκόλουθα δὲ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀραβίοις φοιτήσῃ ἐγχειρεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ· τῷ γάρ τοι Δάμιδι, ὃς μόνος φοιτητῆς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐταῖρος, ἀπαγορεύσας παρὰ τοὺς μάγους ἵεναι, μόνος αὐτός, ὥς ἂν μὴ μετ' ἀγνώμονος δηλαδὴ τὰ τῆς μαγείας μαυθάνοι, μεσημβρίας τε καὶ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο σχολάς. ἔτι δὲ Οὐαρδάνη Βαβυλωνίῳ εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντα, βασιλεῖ ᾧ δὲ πῶς λέγειν αὐτὸν παρατίθεται· “σοφία δέ μοι Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἀνδρός, ὃς θεοὺς τε θεραπεύειν ᾧδὲ με ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν ὀρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὀρωμένων, φοιτᾶν τε ἐς διαλέξεις θεῶν.” τίς δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα συγχωρή-

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

under such masters, how could he attain to their CHAP. X accomplishments otherwise than by imitating their example? We must therefore add to the teachers whom we have already enumerated the sages of Arabia who taught him his knowledge of augury; and this no doubt inspired him subsequently to foretell what the sparrow meant when he called his fellows to a meal, and so to impress the bystanders with the idea that he had worked a mighty miracle. And in the same way when he saw the freshly-slain lioness with her eight whelps by the side of the road which led into Assyria, he immediately conjectured from what he saw the length of their future stay in Persia, and made a prophecy thereof.

XI

AND in just keeping with his visits to the Arabians CHAP. XI were the studies he undertook among the Persians also, according to the account given by the same author. For after forbidding Damis, so we are told, to go to the magi, though Damis was his only pupil and companion, he went alone to school with them at midday and about midnight; alone in order not to have as his companion in the study of magic one who was clearly without a taste for such things. And again when he came to converse with Vardan the Babylonian king, it is related that he addressed him as follows: "My system of wisdom is that of Pythagoras, a man of Samos, who taught me to worship the gods in this way and to recognize them, whether they are seen or unseen, and to be regular in converse with the gods." Who can possibly allow

His visits to the Magi

He professed the wisdom of Pythagoras

CAP.
XI

σειεν, ὅτε Πυθαγόρα μὲν οὐδεμία τις τοιαύτη καταλέλειπται γραφή, οὐδ' ἀπόρρητά τινα συγγράμματα, ὡς καὶ ὑπονοῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνων ὀρμᾶσθαι, ὃ δέ γε διδάσκαλος αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ Πυθαγόραν φιλοσοφίας, οὐδέν τι διαφέρειν τῶν Ἐπικουρείων πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηται τοῦ Φιλοστράτου, ὧδέ πως εἰρηκότος, “ διδάσκαλος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν Πυθαγόρου λόγων οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖος, οὐδ' ἐνεργῶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρώμενος, γαστρός τε ἦττων καὶ ἀφροδισίων, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐσχημάτιστο. ἦν δὲ οὗτος Εὐξενος ὁ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου. τὰς δὲ Πυθαγόρου γνώμας ἐγίνγνωσκεν, ὥσπερ οἱ ὄρνιθες ἂ μανθάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.” φεῦ τῆς ἀτοπίας, εἰ παρὰ τούτου λέγοι τις τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς διαλέξεως τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι. ἀλλὰ δὴ συγκεχωρήσθω καὶ ἐτέρων ὑφηγητῶν αὐτὸν ἀκηκοέναι, καίτοι γε τοῦ συγγραφέως τοῦτο μηδαμῶς ἐπισημηναμένου· τίς δὴ οὖν τούτων σύνεσιν τε καὶ φοίτησιν εἰς διαλέξεις θεῶν ὀρωμένων καὶ οὐχ ὀρωμένων αὐτός τε ὡς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου μαθὼν εἰδέναι, διδάσκεσθαι τε ἐτέρους ἐπηγγέλλετο; καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ περιβόητος Πλάτων, πάντων γε μᾶλλον τῆς Πυθαγόρου κεκοινωνηκῶς φιλοσοφίας, οὐτ' Ἀρχύτας, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὰς Πυθαγόρου γραφῇ παραδοὺς ὁμιλίας Φιλόλαος, οὐδ' εἴ τινες ἄλλοι γνώριμοὶ τὰνδρὸς γεγονότες, οἱ δόξας τε αὐτοῦ καὶ γνώμας γραφῇ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν παραδεδώκασιν, ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ τινὶ ἐσεμνύναντο σοφίᾳ. οὐκοῦν ἐτέρωθεν, ἀλλ'

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this to be true of him, seeing that Pythagoras himself has left no scripture of the kind, nor any secret writings, such that we can even suspect him to have had such resources at his disposal? As for his teacher of the Pythagorean philosophy, it is testified that he was in no way better than the Epicureans by Philostratus himself, who speaks of him as follows:

“He had as a teacher of the system of Pythagoras not a very good man, nor one who put his philosophy into practice; for he was the slave of his belly and his desires and modelled his life on that of Epicurus.

And this man was Euxenus of Heraclea in Pontus. But he had a good acquaintance with the tenets of Pythagoras, just as birds have of what they learn to say from men.”

What ridiculous nonsense to pretend that Apollonius can have derived from this man, his gift of conversing with the gods. But let us for the moment admit that there were other expounders of the system from whom he may have learned, although the author anyhow gives no hint of any such thing. Still we must ask: was there then ever any one of these teachers that professed either to know himself, by having learnt from Pythagoras personally, or to teach others, how to recognize and frequent in their conversations gods, whether seen or unseen? Why, even the famous Plato, although more than anyone else he shared in the philosophy of Pythagoras, and Archytas too, and Philolaus the one man who has handed down to us in writing the conversations of Pythagoras, and any others who were disciples of the philosopher and have handed down to his posterity his opinions and tenets in writing,—none of these ever boasted of any such form of wisdom. It follows then that he learnt

CHAP.
XI

He learned
from no
follower of
Pythagoras

CAP. οὐκ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου τὰ τοιαδὶ μαθὼν, προσχήματι
 XI σεμνολογῶν ἐπιγράφεται τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου
 πρόσρησιν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ παραλογώτατα τὸ ψεῦδος
 ὡς ἀληθές τις γεγονέναι συγχωρήσειεν, οὐκ οἶδ',
 ὅπως ἐξ αὐτοῦ λέγων ἐκείνου τοῦ Σαμίου, πρὸ
 μυρίων ὅσων ἐτῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένον, τὰ
 περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν μεμαθηκέναι. οὐκοῦν πρὸς τοῖς
 Ἀραβίοις καὶ τοῦτον διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ τῆς δὴ
 νομιζομένης ἀπορρήτου περὶ θεῶν ἐπιστήμης ἐπι-
 γραπτέον. εἰ δὴ οὖν θείας ἦν φύσεως, κατέψευσται
 αὐτοῦ τοὺς διδασκάλους ὁ λόγος, εἰ δ' ἀληθὴς ἦν
 οὗτος, ψευδὴς ἦν ὁ μῦθος, καὶ οὐκ ἀληθὴς ἡ περὶ
 τοῦ θείου γεγονέναι αὐτὸν γραφή.

XII

CAP. Οὕπω μοι τοῦ Πρωτέως τὸ φάσμα πολυπραγ-
 XII μονεῖν ἔπεισι καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου πίστιν
 αἰτεῖν, οὐδὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ κύκνων τὰς ἀπο-
 δείξεις, οὓς γελοίως τὴν μητέρα τίκτουσαν αὐτὸν
 μαιοῦσθαι ἱστορεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τοῦ
 σκηπτοῦ μυθολογίας τὸν μάρτυρα παρέχειν
 ἀξιῶ, οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων, ὡς ἔφην, Δάμις
 ἡμῖν συνίστωρ ἀφίξεται, μακρῷ ὕστερον ἐν Νίνῳ
 τῆς Ἀσσυρίας τάνδρῃ συνάψας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν
 εἶ μάλα προθύμως τοῖς εἰκόσι τε καὶ ἀληθείας
 ἐχομένοις πειθόμενος, εἰ καὶ μείζονά τινα καθ'

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these things not from Pythagoras, but from other sources ; and with a wilful affectation of solemnity he only labels himself with the philosopher's name. But admitting, though it is against all probability, that he is not lying, but telling the truth, we are still at a loss to know, how he can pretend to have acquired this lore from the Samian himself above mentioned, inasmuch as the latter deceased some thousand years before him. Therefore we must reckon among the Arabians this teacher also who communicated to him a knowledge of the gods of so mysterious character as he imagines this to be. If then he was of a divine nature, it follows that the story of his teachers is a pure fiction. On the other hand if the story was true, then the legend was false, and the allegation in the book that he was divine is devoid of all truth.

XII

I HAVE no wish to enquire curiously about the ghost of Proteus, or to ask for confirmation of it, nor to demand proof of his ridiculous story that swans surrounded his mother and assisted her to bring him into the world ; equally little do I ask him to produce evidence of his fairy-tale about the thunder-bolt ; for as I said before he cannot anyhow claim the authority of Damis for these particulars, inasmuch as the latter joined him much later on in the city of Nineveh of Assyria. I am however quite ready to accept all that is probable and has an air of truth about it, even though such details may be somewhat exaggerated and highly-coloured out of

CHAP.
XI

CHAP.
XII

Eusebius
will accept
all that is
probable

CAP.
XII

ὑπερβολὴν ἐς ἔπαινον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ λέγοιτ' ἄν, πιστὰ καὶ παραδεκτέα εἶναί μοι δοκῶ, ὅτι μὴ μόνα τὰ τερατώδη καὶ λήρου πλέα. οὐκου φθονοίην, εἴ φησιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς γένος τε ἀρχαίου καὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀνημμένον τῷ ἀνδρὶ γεγονέναι, καὶ πλουτῶν, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχεν, ὑπὲρ τοῦς ἐγχωρίους ἅπαντας, διδασκάλων τε νέον ὄντα οὐ μόνον τῶν δεδηλωμένων τυχεῖν, ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ τούτων αὐτὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ καθηγητὴν γεγονέναι. ἔστω δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐντρεχῆς καὶ τὰ κοινά, ὥς τὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ θεραπείας χάριν ἀφιγμένον διὰ γνώμης ἀρίστης ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς ἀρρωστίας νοσοῦντι γὰρ δὴ ὑδέρου πάθει κατάλληλον ἐγκρατείας ὑποθέσθαι δίαιταν τῷ κάμνοντι, καὶ ταύτῃ αὐτὸν ὑγιᾶ καταστήσαι, καὶ τούτῳ γε τῆς φρονήσεως ἀποδεκτὸν τὸ μεράκιον, καὶ ὥς τὸν πολυτελῶς θύειν παρεσκευασμένον εἶρξεν, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ κακίᾳ διαβεβοημένον, καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀπάντων πλουσιώτατόν τε καὶ περιφανέστατον αὐτὸν ὑποτίθεται. καὶ ἐν σώφροσι δ' αὐτὸν φθόνος οὐδεὶς ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι τε πρὸς τὸν ἐραστὴν πειρώμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ὥρας διελοιδορήσατο, καὶ γυναικείας ὅτι καθαρὸν ἑαυτὸν μίξεως διὰ τέλους ὥς ὁ λόγος φησὶν, ἤγαγε.

Πιστὰ δ' ἔστω καὶ τὰ τῆς πενταετοῦς κατὰ Πυθαγόραν σιωπῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τά, ὅπως ταύτην διήνυσεν, ἐπαίνου ἄξια. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ὅσα

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

compliment to a good man ; for I could still bring myself to accept them, as long as they are not bewilderingly wonderful and full of nonsense. I do not therefore mind the author telling us that Apollonius was of an ancient family and lineally descended from the first settlers, and was rich, if it were so, beyond all other people of that region ; and that when he was young he not only had the distinguished teachers mentioned, but, if he likes, I will allow that he became himself their teacher and master in learning. I grant too, in addition, that he was skilful in ordinary matters, and so was able by giving the best of advice to rid of his malady one who had come to the temple of Asclepius in order to be healed. For we read that he suggested to a man afflicted with dropsy a régime of abstinence well suited to cure his disease, and in that way restored him to health : and so far we must needs commend the youthful Apollonius for his good sense. On another occasion he very properly excluded from the temple a man who was notorious for his wickedness, although he was prepared to offer the most expensive sacrifices, for he represents the man in question as the richest and most distinguished of all the people of his region. Nor would anyone object to his being classed among the temperate, inasmuch as he repelled with insults a lover who designed to corrupt his youth, and also, as the narrative informs us, kept himself throughout pure of intercourse with women.

We can also believe the story of his keeping silence for five years in the spirit of Pythagoras ; and the way moreover in which he accomplished this vow of silence was praiseworthy. All this and the like

CHAP.
XII

CAP.
XII

τοιαῦτα ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφία
καὶ ἀληθείας οὐ πόρρω δεχοίμην ἄν, περὶ πολλοί
τὸ εὐγνωμόν τε καὶ φιλάληθες τιμώμενος· τό
τοι κρεῖττον ἀνθρώπου τὴν φύσιν ὑποτίθεσθαι
καὶ παρὰ πόδας ἐναντιολογεῖν τῆς τε δοθείσης
ἀμνημονεῖν ὑποθέσεως, ἔχειν ψόγον ἂν καὶ δια
βολὴν αὐτῷ τε τῷ γράφοντι καὶ πολὺ πρότερο
τῷ γραφομένῳ περιάψειν ἡγοῦμαι.

XIII

CAP.
XIII

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος
ἐπίωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου. τὴν ἀπὸ Περ
σίδος ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς πορείαν ἄγει παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν
ὁ λόγος. εἰτά τι πεπονθὼς ἀπειρόκαλον, ὥσπερ
τι παράδοξον, δαιμόνιον τι, ὃ καὶ ἔμπουνσαν ὄνο
μάζει, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἰδόντα λαιδορίαις ἅμα τοῖς
ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπελάσαι φησί, καὶ ζώων δὲ εἰς
τροφὴν αὐτοῖς προσαχθέντων, εἰρηκέναι αὐτὸν
τῷ Δάμιδι, ὡς ἄρα συγχωροίη αὐτῷ τε καὶ
τοῖς ἐταίροις σιτεῖσθαι τῶν κρεῶν, τὸ γὰρ
ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτῶν, αὐτοῖς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ὄραν προ
βαῖνον, ἑαυτῷ δὲ εἰς ἃ ὠμολόγηται πρὸς φιλοσο
φίαν ἐκ παιδός. καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειεν, ὅ
μηδ' αὐτόν, ὃν μόνον ἐδόκει τοῦ βίου ζηλωτὴν

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is merely human, and in no way incongruous with philosophy or with truth, and I can therefore accept it, because I set a very high value upon candour and love of truth. Nevertheless to suppose that he was a being of superhuman nature, and then to contradict this supposition at a moment's warning, and to forget it almost as soon as it is made—this I regard as reprehensible and calculated to fasten a suspicion not only on the author, but yet more on the subject of his memoir.

CHAP.
XII

XIII

THESE particulars we have taken from the first book of Philostratus; and let us now go on to consider the contents of the second. The story takes him on his travels and brings him from Persia to India. He next shows a want of good taste by relating, as if it were a miracle, how Apollonius and his companions saw some sort of demon, to which he gives the name of Empusa, along the road, and of how they drove it away by dint of abuse and bad words. And we learn that when some animals were offered them for food, he told Damis that he was quite willing to allow him and his companions to eat the flesh, for as far as he could see their abstinence from meat had in no way advanced their moral development, though in his own case it was imposed by the philosophic profession he had made in childhood. And yet is it not incredible to anyone that he should not have hindered Damis, as his best friend, and as the only disciple and follower of his life that he had, and the

CHAP.
XIII
Criticisms
of the
second book
of Philo-
stratus

CAP. XIII. κεκτηῖσθαι καὶ προὔτρεπεν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, εἵργεν
οἷα φίλτατον τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων, ὡς ἂν οὐχ
όσιας κατὰ Πυθαγόραν τροφῆς, ὁ δ' οὐκ' οἶδ'
ὁποῖω λόγῳ λέγων μὲν οὐ συνοίσειν ἑαυτῷ,
κείνοις δ' οὐδὲν ὁρᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποχῆς προβαίνου
ὡμολόγει;

XIV

CAP. XIV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος ὁ τάληθές τιμᾶν πρὸς
τοῦ Φιλαλήθους μεμαρτυρημένος, ὅρα τῆς ἀληθείας
ὅποια δείγματα παρίστησι· γενόμενον παρ' Ἰνδοῖς
τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον παραστήσασθαί φησιν ἑρμηνέα,
καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ προσδιαλέγεσθαι Φραώτῃ, τοῦτο δ'
εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὄνομα, καὶ ὁ μικρῷ
πρόσθεν κατ' αὐτὸν πασῶν γλωσσῶν συνεὶς νῦν
αὖ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἑρμηνέως δέεται. καὶ πάλιν ὁ
τὰ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων εἰδὼς καὶ μόνον
οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεόν

κωφοῦ τε ξυνιείς καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούων

δι' ἑρμηνέως ἀνερωτᾷ, ὅποια τις εἴη τῷ βασιλεῖ
δίαιτα, ἡγεμόνα τε ἀξιοῖ τῆς ἐς Βραχμᾶνας πορείας
γενέσθαι τινὰ αὐτῷ. καὶ μεταξὺ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν
Βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῦτα Βάρβαρος ὢν τὴν φύσιν, τὸν
ἑρμηνέα ἐκποδὼν μετασχησάμενος, Ἑλλάδι χρήται
πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ, παιδεῖαν καὶ πολυμάθειαν

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only one whom he was trying to convert to his philosophy, that he should not, I repeat, have tried to hinder him from consuming the flesh of living animals, that being an unholy food according to Pythagoras, and that instead of doing so, he should tell him for reasons inexplicable to me that it will do no good to himself, and admit that he saw no moral advantage in them produced by such abstinence ?

CHAP.
XIII

XIV

In the next place I would have you notice what sort of samples of truth are set before us by this Philostratus to whose truthfulness Hierocles the self-styled Lover of Truth bears witness. For we are told that when Apollonius was among the Indians, he employed an interpreter, and through him held the conversation with Phraotes, for that was the name of the king of the Indians. Thus he, who just before, according to Philostratus, had an understanding of all languages, now on the contrary, according to the same witness, is in need of an interpreter. And again, he who read the thoughts of men, and almost like their god Apollo

CHAP.
XIV

“Understood the dumb and heard him who spake not”

has to ask, by means of an interpreter, what was the king's way of life, and he asks him to supply him with a guide on his journey to the Brahmanas. And after an interval the other, who is king of the Indians, and a barbarian to boot, gets rid of the interpreter, and addresses Apollonius in Greek ; and speaking in that language details to him his education and

CAP.
XIV

ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὁ δὲ οὐδ' ὥς, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀμαθῶς ἔχοι φωνῆς, δέον ἐπεφιλοτιμήσατο.

XV

CAP.
XV

Ἀλλὰ καὶ λαλοῦντος Ἑλλάδι γλώσση τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκπλήττεται, ἥ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀκόλουθα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἑαυτῷ γράφων. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐξεπλάγη μὴ οὐχὶ βάρβαρον οἰηθείς; καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον θαυμάσας οὐποτ' ἂν ἐλληνίσαι προσεδόκησεν· εἶθ', ὥσπερ τι παραδόντα παράδοξον καταπλαγείς, καὶ τὸ τούτου ἔτ' ἀγνοῶν αἴτιον, “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, πόθεν οὕτως ἔχεις φωνῆς Ἑλλάδος; φιλοσοφία τε ἢ περὶ σὲ πόθεν ἐνταῦθα; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς διδασκάλους ἔγε, οἶμαι, ἀναφέρεις, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ εἶναι Ἰνδοῖς εἰκὸς διδασκάλους τούτου.” αὐταὶ αἱ παράδοξοι τοῦ πάντα προγνώσει διείληφότες φωναί, ἃς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀμειβόμενος, ὅτι τε σχολή διδασκάλους καὶ οἵτινες οὗτοι, ἕκαστά τε πατρόθεν τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν συμβεβηκότων φράζει.

Εἶτα καὶ τισι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δικάζοντος περὶ θησαυροῦ φωραθέντος ἐν ἀγρῷ, πότερα τῷ πριαμένῳ ἢ τῷ τὸ χωρίον ἀποδομένῳ δέοι νεῖμαι τοῦτον, ὁ πάντα φιλόσοφος καὶ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένος ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐπικρίνει τῷ πριαμένῳ, λογισμὸν δὴ αὐτοῖς

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his wealth of learning. But Apollonius none the less neglected on this occasion to display, as he should have done, his own perfect acquaintance with their tongue. CHAP.
XIV

XV

ON the contrary he is astonished to find the Indian talking Greek, as Philostratus consistently, it would seem, with himself, tells us in his book. For how could he be astonished thereat, unless he had regarded him as a barbarian? And in spite of his having admired him for what he was, he could never have expected him to talk Greek. In the sequel, as if he were astonished at some exhibition of the miraculous and were still unable to explain it, Apollonius says: "Tell me, O king, how you came to have such facility in the Greek tongue? And where did you get hereabouts the philosophy you possess? For I do not think that you can say you owe it to teachers anyhow, for it is not likely that the Indians have any teachers of this." Such are the wonderful utterances to which one, whose prescience included everything, gives vent; and the king answers them by saying that he had had teachers, and he tells him who they were, and relates all the particulars of his own history on his father's side. CHAP.
XV
Eusebius
ridicules
the pre-
science of
Apollonius

Next we are told that the Indian had to judge between certain parties about a treasure which had been hunted up in a field, the question at issue being whether this field ought to be assigned to the seller or buyer of the place. Our supreme philosopher and darling of heaven is asked his opinion, and awards it to the purchaser, assigning his reason in these words:

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.
XV

ρήμασιν ἐπειπών, “ὥς οὐκ ἂν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφείλουντο καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ μὴ φαῦλος ἦν, τῷ δ' αὖ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίων ἦν τοῦ ἀποδομένου.” ὥς κατ' αὐτὸν δὴ συνάγεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέροντας, καὶ αἰσχροτάτοι καὶ πανωλέστατοι τυγχάνοιεν, τρισευδαίμονας καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι, μόνους δ' ἄρα κακοδαίμονάς τε καὶ ἀθλίους τοὺς πενεστάτους, καὶ Σωκράτης, καὶ Διογένης, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος Πυθαγόρας τυγχάνη, καὶ ἄλλος, οἱ πάντων ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατοί τε καὶ ἐπιεικέστατοι. εἴποι γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ, μὴ ἂν κατ' αὐτὸν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς μὲν πένητας, τούτους δὲ αὐτούς, οἱ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν διήνεγκαν, ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν, μὴ οὐχὶ πάντως φαύλους ὄντας τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἦθος ἀκολαστοτέροις ἄφθονα καὶ τὰ μὴ ἀναγκαῖα παρασχεῖν, εἰ μὴ βελτίους ἐτύχχανον τῶν προτέρων, ἐξ ὧν παντί τῳ καταφανῆς ἢ τοῦ συμπεράσματος ἀτοπία.

XVI

CAP.
XVI

Ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου παραθέμενοι, ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς βεβοημένους ἐποψόμενοι Βραχμᾶνας· ἔνθα δὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα καὶ εἴ τί περ ἄλλο τερατῶδές ποτε μυθολόγοις

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

“That the gods would never have deprived the one of CHAP. XV the land, if he had not been a bad man; nor would ever have given the other riches under the soil, unless he had been better than the seller.” We must conclude then, if we are to believe him, that men who are comfortably off and richer than their neighbours, are to be esteemed thrice happy and beloved of the gods, even though they should be the most shameless and abandoned of mankind; on the other hand only the poorest, say, even a Socrates, or a Diogenes, or the famous Pythagoras himself, or any other of the most temperate and fairest-minded of men, are to be esteemed ill-starred wretches. For if one follows the reasoning here used, one must allow that on its showing the gods would never have deprived the poor, that is to say, the very men who excel others, if judged by the standard of philosophy, even of a bare living and of the necessities of life, unless they had been utterly vile in character, and at the same time they have endowed those who are abandoned in their character with a plenty even of things that were not necessary to them, unless they proved themselves better than the others just mentioned; from which the absurdity of the conclusion is manifest to everyone.

XVI

• AFTER setting before you these incidents out of CHAP. XVI the second book, let us pass on to the third, and consider the stories told of the far-famed Brahmans. Absurdities in the third book For here we shall have to admit that the tales of Thule, and any other miraculous legends ever in-

CAP.
XVI τισὶν ἀναπέπλασται, εὖ μάλα πιστὰ καὶ ἀληθέ-
στατα, ὥς ἐν παραθέσει τούτων, ἀναφανήσεται,
οἷς καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον, τῆς τοῦ Φιλα-
λήθους ἔνεκεν αὐθαδείας ἡμῖν μὲν εὐχέρειαν καὶ
κουφότητα τρόπου περιάπτοντος, αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ
τοῖς αὐτῷ παραπλησίοις τὴν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν
μετὰ συνέσεως κρίσιν. ὅρα γοῦν, ἐφ' οἷς σεμνύνε-
ται παραδόξοις, τῶν ἡμετέρων θείων εὐαγγελι-
στῶν προκρίνων τὸν Φιλόστρατον, ὥς μὴ μόνον
παιδείας ἐπὶ πλείστον ἦκοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθείας
ἐπιμεμελημένον.

XVII

CAP.
XVII Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας
πορεία τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γυνή τις αὐτῷ τὴν
χροιάν εἰσάγεται ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐς ὀσφὺν
λευκοτάτη, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ σώματος
μέλαινα. τὰ δέ, προϊόντων τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Βραχ-
μᾶνας ὁδοῦ, ὄρη καταπεφυτευμένα τὸ πέπερι,
καὶ τούτου πίθηκοι γεωργοί, καὶ παράδοξοί τινες
τὸ μέγεθος δράκοντες, ὧν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς λαμπάδες
ἀπορριπτοῦνται πυρός, οὓς εἴ τις ἀνέλοι, εὖροι ἄν,
φησι, παραδόξους λίθους ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῷ τοῦ
Γύγου τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτῳ παραπλησίους. καὶ
ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τῶν Βραχμάνων λόφου. ὥς
δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, σανδαράκινον ἐνταῦθα
φρέαρ ὕδατος ἰδεῖν παραδόξου, καὶ κρατῆρα πλη-
σίον πυρός, οὗ φλόγα ἀναπέμπεσθαι μολιβδώδη,

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

vented by any story-tellers, turn out to be by comparison with these quite reliable and perfectly true CHAP.
XVI
It is anyhow worth our while to examine these, because this self-styled lover of truth has not scrupled to fasten on ourselves a charge of reckless credulity and levity of character, while claiming for himself and for those like him an accurate judgment, well based on an understanding of the fact. Note then the sort of miracles on which he prides himself, when he prefers Philostratus to our own divine evangelists, on the ground that he was not only a most highly educated man, but most attentive to the truth.

XVII

To begin with then, on the way to the Brahmans, CHAP.
XVII
Philostratus introduces us to a lady who met Apollonius, and who, from her head down to her loins, was wholly white in colour, while the rest of her person was black. The mountains again, as they went forward on the road to the Brahmans, were planted with pepper trees, and the apes cultivated the same; and then there were certain dragons of extraordinary size, from whose heads were thrown off sparks of fire, and if you slew one of them, he says that you found marvellous stones upon the head rivalling the gem of Gyges, as mentioned in Plato. And all this was before they reached the hill on which the Brahmans lived. And when they reached this, we read that they saw there a well of sandarac, full of wonderful water, and hard by a crater of fire, from which there arose a lead-coloured flame; and Ridicules
the tales
of the
Brahmans

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XVII

δύο τε πίθους λίθου μέλανος, τὸν μὲν ὄμβρων, τὸν δὲ ἀνέμων, ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς Βραχμῆνας, οἷς ἂν εἶεν τῆς χώρας ἴλεω, χορηγεῖν. ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἀγάλματα παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου καὶ Διονύσου Λιμναίου, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν, Ἰάρχαν δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων διδάσκαλον καλεῖσθαι, ὃν καὶ ἰδεῖν καθεζόμενον πολλοῦ γε δεῖ φιλοσοφικῶ, σατραπικῶ δ' ἂν μᾶλλον σχήματι ἐφ' ὑψηλοτάτου δίφρου. χαλκοῦ δὲ μέλανος οὗτος ἦν καὶ πεποίκιλτο χρυσέοις ἀγάλμασιν, οἷα δὴ εἰκὸς τεχνουργῶν βαναύσων τρόπον πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ μοχθοῦντας τοὺς φιλοσόφους τεχνουργεῖν, ἣ καὶ θαυματοποιῶν δίκην αὐτόματον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ δημιούργημα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν διδασκάλων δίφροι χαλκοῖ μέν, φησιν, ἄσχημοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ ἥττον ὑψηλοῖ. ἔδει γάρ που πάντως τυράννου σχήματι προνομίας τῆς ἐν ἀγάλμασι καὶ χρυσῷ τὸν τῆς θείας φιλοσοφίας ἀξιούσθαι διδάσκαλον.

XVIII

CAP.
XVIII

Πρῶτον δὲ τὸν Ἰάρχαν ἰδόντα φησὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐξ ὀνόματός τε προσεειπεῖν Ἑλλάδι τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ παρὰ Φραώτου κομίζοι, ἐπιστολὴν αἰτῆσαι, κατὰ πρόγνωσιν ἤδη τοῦτο προειληφότα· ἐνδείξασθαι τε τὸ ἔνθεον τῆς προγνώσεως προειρηκότα, ὥς ἄρα ἐνὶ γράμματι τῷ δέλτα λείποι ἢ ἐπιστολῇ· ἄρξασθαι τε

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there were two jars there of black stone, the one of which contained rain, and the other winds, from which the Brahmans supply such people of the country as they are pleased to favour. Besides this they found among them images of Athene Polias and of Apollo Pythius, and of Dionysus of the Lake and of certain other Hellenic gods. And the master of them all was named Iarchas, and they saw him sitting on a very lofty throne in a state of pomp that was far from philosophic, but rather appropriate to a satrap. And this throne was made of black bronze and was decorated with golden images, such as we might of course expect philosophers to fabricate when they take to working like base mechanics at forge and steel, even if they do not like conjurers make their handiwork to move by itself. But the thrones upon which the rest of them, who were inferior teachers to him, were sitting, were, he says, of bronze, but not incised and not so high. For I suppose they could not help bestowing upon the teacher of so divine a philosophy the privilege of having images and gold on his throne, just as if he were a tyrant.

CHAP.
XVII

XVIII

AND we are told that Iarchas, the moment he saw Apollonius, addressed him by name in the Greek tongue, and asked him for the letter which he brought from Phraotes, for he had already received this by dint of his foreknowledge; and by way of parading the inspired character of his prescience, he told him before he set eyes on the epistle, that it was one letter short, namely of a *delta*; and he began

CHAP.
XVIII
Prescience
and pride
of Iarchas

ἀπειροκάλως εὐθὺς ἀπὸ πρώτης ὁμιλίας, ἀπειροπλούτου δίκην, ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ τῆς προγνώσεως πλεονέκτημα, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καταλέγοντα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γένος τε καὶ τροφὴν καὶ παιδείαν, καὶ τὰς κατὰ χρόνους ἀποδημίας καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν πορείαν, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν πεπραγμένα τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὠμιλημένα. εἶτα δέ φησιν αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ θαυμάσιος συγγραφεὺς τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας ἅμα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρисαμένους ἡλεκτρίνῳ φαρμάκῳ λούσασθαι, καὶ περιστάντας ὡς ἐν χορῷ τὴν γῆν τύψαι ταῖς ῥάβδοις, τὴν δὲ κυρτωθεῖσαν ἀναπέμψαι αὐτοὺς εἰς δίπηχυν τοῦ ἀέρος, ἐστάναι τε αὐτοὺς μετεώρους ἐν αὐτῷ ἀέρι ἐπὶ τι χρόνου διάστημα. ἔλκειν δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ὅτε βούλονται, αὐτομάτως. τούτοις δ' ἐπιφέρει παράδοξον ὁ θαυματολόγος, ὡς ἄρα τρίποδες Πυθικοὶ τέτταρες ἐξεκυκλήθησαν αὐτόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ εἰκάζει δὴ οὖν αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ὀμηρείοις, οἶνοχόους τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ χαλκοῦ διακόνους τὴν ὕλην ἴστησι τέτταρας ἐπιλέγει δέ, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτομάτως ὑπεστόρνυτο αὐτοῖς πόας. τῶν δὲ τριπόδων οἱ μὲν δύο, φησὶν, οἶνου ἀπέρρεον, οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι δύο, ὁ μὲν ὕδατος θερμοῦ κράσιν παρεῖχεν, ὁ δ' αὖ ψυχροῦ. τοὺς δὲ οἶνοχόους τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἀρύεσθαι εὐμέτρως τοῦ τε οἶνου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, περιελαύνειν τε κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πότοις.

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XVIII

at once in a vulgar manner in that very first interview, like a man who has got wealth for the first time and does not know how to use it, to show off his superiority as a seer, by running off the names of Apollonius' father and mother, and telling him all about his family and upbringing and education, and about his periodical voyages abroad, and about his journey thither to himself, and about what he had done himself or said to his companions on the road. And next this wonderful author tells us that the Brahmans, after anointing themselves together with Apollonius with an amber-like drug, took a bath, and then standing round as if in chorus, struck the earth with their staves, and the earth arched itself up and elevated them some two cubits into the air, so that they stood there levitated up in the air itself for some considerable length of time. And he relates that they drew down fire from the sun without any effort on their part and whenever they chose. And the miracle-monger adds another marvel to these, when he tells that there were four tripods like those of Pytho which wheeled themselves forth, moving of their own accord; and he goes so far as to compare these to the tripods in Homer, and he says that there were set upon them cup-bearers to serve in the banquet, four in number and made of bronze. And in addition he tells us that the earth too strewed grass beneath them of her own accord and unasked. And of these tripods two, he says, ran with wine, and of the other two, the one supplied hot water and the other cold. And the cup-bearers of bronze drew for the guests in due mixture both the wine and the water, and pushed round the cups in a circle, just as they are handed round in a symposium.

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XIX

CAP.
XIX

Ταῦτα Ἱεροκλεῖ τὰ ἀνωτάτω καὶ καθόλου δικαστήρια πεπιστευμένῳ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνετάσεως ἀληθῇ καὶ πιστὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν εὐχέρεια καὶ κουφότης πλείστη ὅση κατέγνωσται παρ' αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ τοιαῦτα Φιλοστράτῳ πιστεύων, αὐτοῖς δὴ ῥήμασι σεμνύνεται λέγων, “ἐπισκεψώμεθά γε μήν, ὅσῳ βέλτιον καὶ συνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἦν περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην.”

XX

CAP.
XX

Ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ δὴ τῷ συμποσίῳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Φιλόστρατον βασιλεὺς ἐγχωριάζων Ἰνδοῖς εἰσάγεται συμπίνων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τοῦτον δὲ ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ ἐμπαροινεῖν φιλοσοφίᾳ, μεθύσκεσθαί τε παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀντιπαρεξάγειν Ἡλίῳ καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ἱστορεῖ· καὶ πάλιν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον δι' ἐρμηνέως τὰ παρὰ τούτου μανθάνειν, καὶ αὖ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέγεσθαι, ὑφερμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα· καὶ πῶς οὐ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅπως τὸν οὕτως ὑβριστὴν καὶ ἀτοπώτατον παροινεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι παρὰ τηλικούτοις εἰκὸς ἦν, ὃν οὐδὲ παρεῖναι ἄξιον ἐν φιλοσόφων, μὴ τί γε καὶ ἰσοθέων ἐστία; τί δέ μοι ἰσοθέους τούτους καλεῖν

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

XIX

SUCH are the stories which Hierocles, who has been entrusted to administer the supreme courts of justice all over the province, finds true and reliable after due enquiry, at the same time that he condemns us for our excessive credulity and frivolity; and after himself believing such things when he finds them in Philostratus, he proceeds to brag about himself and says (I quote his very words): "Let us anyhow observe how much better and more cautiously we accept such things, and what opinion we hold of men gifted with such powers and virtues."

CHAP.
XIX
Credulity of
Hierocles

XX

IT was after such a symposium, according to the same Philostratus, that a king who was sojourning in India is introduced to drink with the philosophers; and we hear that he took occasion to insult philosophy with drunken jests, and that he got so tipsy in their presence as to hurl defiance at the Sun and brag about himself. All this we learn, and that Apollonius once more, by means of an interpreter, learned his history from him and conversed in turn with him, Iarchas interpreting between them. Surely it may well excite our wonder that so insolent a fellow and so great a buffoon was allowed to get drunk and show off his tipsy wit among such great philosophers, when he was unworthy even to be present at a meeting of philosophers, much less at the hearth of men who were equal to gods? But what possesses me to call them the peers of gods and

CHAP
XX
Drinking
bouts of the
Brahmans

CAP.
XX

καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐνυβρίζειν τοὺς ἄνδρας; ὁπότε
 πυθομένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, τίνας ἑαυτοὺς ἡγούν-
 ται, θεοὺς ἔφη ὁ Ἰάρχας, ὃς καὶ τοῖς συμπόταις
 οἶα δὴ θεός, φιλοσόφου μὲν ἥκιστα τρόπῳ, πολλοῦ
 γε δεῖ, μή τί γε μᾶλλον, οὗ ἔφησε, θεοῦ ἀξίως,
 ἐς τὴν φιάλην ἐπικύπτων ἐξῆρχεν, ἡ δέ, φησιν ὁ
 συγγραφεύς, ὥς ἄρα ἐπότηζεν ἱκανῶς πάντας,
 καὶ ἐπεδίδου, καθάπερ αἱ ἀπόρρητοι πηγαὶ τοῖς
 ἀνιμωμένοις.

XXI

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XXI

Μετὰ ταῦτα κοιναὶ λόγων ὁμιλῖαι καὶ σπου-
 δαιολογίαι τῶν φιλοσόφων, τοῦ μὲν Ἰάρχα
 διδάσκοντος, ὥς ἄρα ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν
 ἐτέρῳ ἀνθρώπου βασιλέως γένοιτο σώματι, καὶ
 τοιαδί τινα αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα εἶη, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολ-
 λωνίου, ὥς νηὸς Αἰγυπτίας ποτὲ γένοιτο κυβερ-
 νήτης, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπράξαιτο, πεύσεις τε
 καὶ ἀποκρίσεις ἐκάστου, ὧν καὶ τῆς σοφίας
 ἄξιον μηδαμῶς παρεκθέσθαι τὴν μνήμην. ἐρέσθαι
 δέ φησι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰ ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς
 χρύσειον ὕδωρ — ὃ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ παραδόξου
 πύσματος — καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν οἰ-
 κούντων καὶ Πυγμαίων ἄλλων καὶ σκιαπόδων
 ἀνερωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ γίγνοιτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ζῶον τετρά-
 πουν, ὃ λέγεται μαρτιχόρα, ὃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνθρώ-

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chaff them about their dignity? Why, when Apollonius asked them whom they considered themselves to be, "Gods," answered Iarchas; who, I suppose in his quality as god, as little as could be in the style of philosopher, save the mark, nay, surely betraying an equally scant respect for the dignity of the god whom he professed himself to be, set the example of drinking to his fellow-banqueters by stooping down over the bowl, which, as our author is careful to tell us, supplied plenty of drink for all of them, and refreshed itself, as do holy and mysterious wells for those who fill their pitchers from them.

CHAP.

XX

The peers
the gods.

XXI

AFTER this there was general conversation and some serious discussion among the philosophers, in the course of which Iarchas explained that his own soul had once been in the body of another man who was a king, and that in that state he had performed this and that exploit; while Apollonius told them that he had once been the pilot of a ship in Egypt, and had accomplished all sorts of exploits which he enumerated to them. Then they put questions to each other, and received answers, which in the name of wisdom have scant title to be recorded at all. Thus we learn that Apollonius asked if they had any golden water among them. What a clever and marvellous question! And he also asked about men who live underground, and about others called pigmies, and shadow-footed men, and he asked if they had among them a four-footed animal called a martichora, which has a head like that of a man, but

CHAP.

XXI

Folly of
questions
asked in
India by
Apollonius

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CAP.
XXI

πῶ εἰκάσθαι, λέοντι δὲ ὁμοιωῖσθαι τὸ μέγεθος, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἐκφέρειν πηχναίας καὶ ἀκανθώδεις τὰς τρίχας, ἃς βάλλειν ὥσπερ τοξεύματα ἐς τοὺς θηρῶντας· καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀνερωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰάρχαν διδάσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ μὲν τῶν Πυγμαίων, ὡς ἄρα εἶεν οἰκοῦντες μὲν ὑπόγειοι, διατρίβοντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν ζῶντες, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἀνύπαρκτα εἶη.

XXII

CAP.
XXII

Ἐριον ἐπὶ τούτοις φυόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς ἐσθῆτος ὕλην ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀναγράφει, πάντως δῆπου τῶν φιλοσόφων ἰστὸν ἐποικομένων καὶ θαλασιουργίαις ἐς ἐσθῆτος κατεργασίαν ἐκπονομένων—οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσῆκται παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναικεῖον φῦλον—εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο φήσειεν αὐτόματον αὐτοῖς παραδόξως δὴ ἱερὰν ἐς ἐσθῆτα μεταφύεσθαι. φέρειν δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ῥάβδον καὶ δακτύλιον ἀπόρρητον ἔχοντα ἰσχύν. εἶτα παραδοξοποιῶν τοῦ Βραχμᾶνος, ὡς δαιμονῶντα δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀνακαλέσαιοτο, ὡς χωλεύοντα καταψήσας τὸν γλουτὸν θεραπεύσειεν, ὡς τυφλῷ τὸ βλέπειν καὶ ἀδρανεῖν τι τὴν χεῖρα σφάν χαρίζοιτο. πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀπολύσαντι τῷ συγγραφεῖ· δῆλα γάρ, ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτε βροντὰς

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rivals a lion in size, while from its tail projects hairs like thorns a cubit long, which it is accustomed to shoot out like arrows at those who hunt it. Such then were the questions which Apollonius put to the sages, and Iarchas instructed him about the pigmies, and told him that they were indeed people dwelling underground, but spent their lives on the other side of the river Ganges; but as to the other things which he asked about, Iarchas said that they never had existed at all.

CHAP.
XXI

XXII

AFTER that Philostratus described a wool which the earth grew for them to supply material for their dress, from which we must infer that these philosophers plied the loom and occupied themselves with spinning wool in order to make their raiment, for we do not hear of any woman being smuggled into their community; but perhaps he means that by a miracle the wool grew of its own initiative into their sacred garments. And we hear that each of them carried a staff and a ring which was imbued with mysterious power. There follow a series of miraculous performances on the part of the Brahman,—how for example he recalled to his senses by means of a letter one who was possessed with a demon, how by stroking a man who was lame he healed his dislocated hip, how he vouchsafed to restore a man's hand that was withered, and to a blind man gave sight. Our blessings on an author who saves us so much trouble. Can we doubt that these stories are true, when his very insistence on

CHAP.
XXII

Silly tales
of the
Brahmans

Eusebius
doubts the
miracles of
healing
wrought by
Iarchas

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XXII

καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πίθοις τρίποδὰς τε ἐκ λίθου φοιτῶντας αὐτομάτως καὶ οἰνοχόους ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ περιελαύνειν ἐν κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας προιστορήσας, διὰ τῆς περὶ τούτων ὡς ἀληθῶν ἀφηγήσεως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων ἐξέφηνέ τε καὶ διήλεγξε τὴν μυθολογίαν. εἰρηκέναι δέ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος τὸν Δάμιν δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας καὶ τῷ Ἰάρχα συμφιλοσοφῆσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰληφέναι τε παρ' αὐτοῦ δακτυλίους ἑπτὰ ἐπωνύμους ἀστέρων, οὓς καὶ φορεῖν αὐτὸν καθ' ἓνα πρὸς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν.

Ταῦτα δὲ νῦν εἰπὼν ὁ τάληθὲς τιμᾶν παρὰ τῷ Φιλαλήθει νενομισμένος μεθ' ἑτερά τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς ἂν δὴ γοητεῖαν τῶν Βραχμάνων καταγνοῦς, καὶ ταύτης ἐλεύθερον καταστήσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον φροντίσας, ἐπιφέρει φάσκων κατὰ λέξιν· “ἰδὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὐθ', ὅπως σοφίζονται αὐτά, ἤρετο, οὔτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπήνει μὲν, ζηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἤξιον.” καὶ πῶς, ὦ οὔτος, οὐκ ἤξιον; ὁ δίχα τοῦ Δάμιδος σπουδὴν ποιούμενος συμφιλοσοφεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν μόνον ἐταῖρον, ὅτι καὶ πράττοι, λανθάνειν δέον ἡγούμενος; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἤξιον ζηλοῦν ὁ τοὺς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπωνύμους καταδεχόμενος δακτυλίους, καὶ τούτους ἀναγκαῖον τιθέμενος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου φέρειν πρὸς

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the truth of his earlier tales, I refer to those of lightning and wind kept in jars, and of tripods of stone walking about of their own accord and of cup-bearers of bronze passing round the cups in a circle, fully betrays and exposes the mythical character of everything else which he has to tell us. Philostratus moreover declares that Damis related how carefully Apollonius excluded himself from being present at the philosophical sessions which he held with Iarchas; and he says that Apollonius was given by the latter seven rings which were called after the stars, and that he wore these one by one upon the days respectively called by their names. CHAP.
XXII

Though we learn this much on this occasion from a gentleman who is esteemed by the Lover of Truth to have had a respect for facts, further on in his book, as if by way of condemning the wizardry of the Brahmans, and as if he was anxious to acquit Apollonius of the charge of having dabbled therein, he adds the following remark, which I repeat textually: "But when he saw among the Indians the tripods and the cup-bearers and the other figures which I have said entered of their own accord, he did not either ask how they were contrived, or desire to learn; but although he praised them, he disclaimed any wish to imitate them." And how, my good fellow, did he disclaim any wish of the kind? Is this the man who was careful to exclude Damis from the philosophical seances he held with them, and who thought it his duty to conceal from his only companion all that he had done in those seances? And how could he have disclaimed any wish to imitate them when he accepted the seven rings named after the stars, and held it needful to wear these all through the

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

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XXII

τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν, καίτοι γε ἀπόρρητον, ὡς φῆς αὐτός, ἔχοντας ἰσχύν; εἰ δὲ καὶ δοθείη τὸ μὴ ζηλοῦν ἡξιωκέναι αὐτόν, ὡς μὴ εὖ πράττοντα οὐκ ἐξήλου δηλονότι. πῶς οὖν ἐπῆνει, ἐφ' οἷς μὴ ἡξίου ζηλοῦν; εἰ δ' ὡς θείως ἐνεργοῦντας ἐπῆνει, πῶς οὐκ ἐξήλου τὰ ἐπαίνων ἄξια; ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν παρὰ τούτοις διατριβὴν παλινοστοῦντα αὐτὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις ἐληλυθέναι φησὶν ἐς τὴν τῶν Ὀρειτῶν χώραν, ἔνθα χαλκαῖ μὲν αὐτοῖς αἰ πέτραι, χαλκῇ δὲ ἡ ψάμμος, χαλκοῦ δὲ ψῆγμα οἱ ποταμοὶ ἄγουσι.

XXIII

CAP.
XXIII

Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τρίτον σύγγραμμα, ἐπίωμεν δ' ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ἐπανελθόντα φησὶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κοινωνὸν τῶν θεῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἀνακεκηρῦχθαι, οἷ καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ὡς αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὑγείᾳ παρέμπειπον, καὶ δῆτα ὡς ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ μάγων καὶ Ἰνδῶν παράδοξόν τινα καὶ θεῖον ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ἀγαγών, παραδόξων ἐντεῦθεν ἀφηγημάτων κατάρχεται. καίτοι ἂν τις εἴποι εὐλόγως, ὅτι δὴ εἰ θειοτέρας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπὸν φύσεως ἦν, πάλαι, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν ἔδει, πρὸ τῆς δὲ ἐτέρων μεταλήψεως τῶν θαυμασίων κατάρχεσθαι, περιττὴ δ' ἂν καὶ

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rest of his life upon the days severally named after them, and that although, as you say yourself, they had a secret power in them. Even if we grant that he did not aspire to imitate these inventions, it is clear that his disclaimer was not due to their being uncanny. How then could he praise things which he disdained to imitate? If he praised them, as being divinely operated; why did he not imitate things so praiseworthy? To crown all, on his return after he had stayed with them, we learn that he arrived with his companions at the country of the Oritae, where he found the rocks and the sand and the dust which the rivers bring down to the sea, all alike made of bronze.

CHAP.
XXII

XXIII

ALL this is contained in the third book of Philostratus, and let us now pass on to those which follow. We learn that when he had returned from the country of the Indians to the land of Hellas, the gods themselves proclaimed him to be the companion of the gods, inasmuch as they sent on to him the sick to be healed. And, indeed, as if his visit to the Arabs and to the Magi and to the Indians had turned him into some miraculous and divine being, our author, now that he has got him home again, plunges straight into a lengthy description of his miracles. And yet one might fairly argue that if he had been of a diviner than merely human nature, then he ought long before, and not only now, after entering into relation with other teachers, to have begun his career of wonder-working; and it was

CHAP.
XXIII
The predictions of
Apollonius

CAP.
XXIII

ἢ ἐξ Ἀράβων αὐτῷ μάγων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν διὰ σπουδῆς ἐπεχειρεῖτο πολυμάθεια, εἰ δὴ τις κατὰ τὴν δοθείσαν ὑπῆρξεν ὑπόθεσιν· ἄλλ' οὗτός γα κατὰ τὸν φιλαλήθη συγγραφέα νῦν δὴ πάρεστι, μετὰ τοσούτους διδασκάλους τὴν σοφίαν ἐνεπιδεκνύμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, οἷα ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς οἰωνιστικῆς ὁρμώμενος τὸν στρουθόν, ὃ τι καὶ βούλοιτο τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τροφήν παρακαλῶν ἐφερμηνεύει τοῖς παροῦσιν, εἶτα δὲ λοιμοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ προαισθόμενος προμαντεύεται τοῖς πολίταις. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν καὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἀπολογίᾳ αὐτὸς παρατίθεται. ἐρομένου γάρ τοι αὐτόν, ὁπόθεν ὁρμώμενος τοῦτο προείποι, “λεπτοτέρᾳ,” ἔφη, “χρώμενος, ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαίτη πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἡσθόμην.”

Καὶ τρίτον δ' αὐτοῦ θαῦμα γεγονὸς ἱστορεῖ, ὡς δὴ ἀλεξήσαντος τὸν λοιμόν, ὅπερ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τέλει κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαις οὐ τέθεικεν ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὅτι μὴ παρῆν, ὡς εἰκός, αὐτῷ δι' ἀπολογίας ἀπολύσασθαι τὸ ἔγκλημα, φέρε δ' οὖν ὅμως αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐς φανερόν ὑποθώμεθα, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ταύτην εὐθύνοντες. εἴ τιτι γὰρ οὐκ εἴη σαφές, ὅτι δὴ πολὺ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν γοητείας τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔμπλεων,

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superfluous for him to take so much trouble to acquire the multifarious lore of Arabs and of Magi and of Indians, if he was really what the initial assumption made by Philostratus assumes him to have been. But anyhow, according to this truth-loving author, we have now got him back again, ready to show off the wisdom which he has acquired from so great masters; and as one fresh from Arabia and equipped with the science of augury in vogue among the inhabitants of that country, he begins by interpreting to the bystanders what the sparrow wanted and intended when it summoned its fellows to their dinner. Next he has a presentiment of the plague in Ephesus, and warns the citizens of what is coming. And he himself sets before us in his Apology to Domitian the explanation of this presentiment. For when the latter asked him what was his prediction, he answered: "Because, my prince, I use a very light diet, I was the first to scent the danger."

And then he relates a third miracle of him, which was nothing less than that of his averting the plague. Although the author has been careful not to include this story in the final counts retained against Apollonius, probably because it was impossible for him to rebut a charge founded upon it by any defence which he could offer, we nevertheless will, if you will allow us, publish the story and give it full publicity, because our doing so will render needless any further criticism of it. For if anybody feels the shadow of doubt about the matter, the very manner in which the story is told will convince him that fraud and make-believe was in this case everything, and that if

CHAP
XXIII

Story of the
Ephesian
plague

αὐτὸς ὁ τρόπος ἀπελέγχει τῆς ἱστορίας. τὸν γάρ
 τοι λοιμὸν ὑποτίθεται ἐν εἵδει πτωχεύοντος καὶ
 ῥάκεσιν ἡμφιεσμένου πρεσβύτου ἀνδρὸς ἐωρᾶσθαι
 ὃν καταλεύειν ἐπικελευσαμένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου
 πρότερον μὲν πῦρ βάλλειν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, εἴθ'
 ὕστερον βληθέντα λίθοις, κύνα συντετριμμένον καὶ
 παραπτύοντα ἀφρόν, ὥς οἱ λυττῶντες, φανῆναι,
 εἰρηκέναι δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τούτου καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς
 τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Δομετιανὸν ἀπολογίᾳ ταῦτα
 γράφει· “τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῶ δὲ
 γέροντι εἴκαστο, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδὼν εἶλον, οὐ
 παύσας νόσον, ἀλλ' ἐξελών.” τίς δὴ οὖν ἐπὶ
 τούτοις οὐ μέγα τὴν τοῦ θαυματοποιοῦ γελάσεται
 παραδοξοποιίαν, ζῶον ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ λίθων ὑπο-
 πίπτον βολαῖς, συντριβόμενόν τε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων
 καὶ ἀφρόν παραπτύον τὴν τοῦ λοιμοῦ φύσιν
 ἀκούων, ὃς οὐδ' ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν τυγχάνει ἢ φθορὰ
 καὶ κάκωσις ἀέρος, ἐπὶ τὸ νοσῶδες τρεπομένου τοῦ
 περιέχοντος ἐκ πονηρῶν τε καὶ φαύλων ἀναθυμιά-
 σεων, ἣ λόγος ἰατρικὸς παραδίδωσι, συνισταμένου,
 καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἂν τὸ φάσμα διευθυνθείη, ἐπεὶ περ
 μόνη τῇ τῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλει, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς
 ὁμόροις τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπισκῆψαί φησιν ὁ λόγος
 ὅπερ πῶς οὐκ ἂν γέγονει κάκωσιν τοῦ περιέχοντος
 πεπονθότος; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατακλεισθὲν μόνῳ αἵ
 ἐφῆδρευσε τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἀέρι τὸ νόσημα.

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ever anything reeked of wizardry this did. For he CHAP. XXIII
pretends that the plague was seen in the form of
an aged man, a beggar and dressed in rags ; who,
when Apollonius ordered the mob to stone him,
began by shooting fire from his eyes, but afterwards,
when he had been overwhelmed by the stones
thrown at him, he appeared as a dog all crushed and
vomiting foam, as mad dogs do. And he writes that
Apollonius mentioned this episode also in the
defence he addressed to the autocrat Domitian, as
follows : “ For the form of the plague—and it
resembled an aged beggar—was both seen by me,
and when I saw it I overcame it, not by staying the
course of the disease, but by utterly destroying it.”
Who, I would ask, after reading this would not laugh
heartily at the miracle-mongering of this thaumaturge ?
For we learn that the nature of the plague
was a living creature and as such exposed at once
to the eyes of the bystanders and to the showers
of stones they hurled at it, and that it was crushed
by men, and vomited foam, when all the time a
plague is nothing in the world but a corruption
and vitiation of the atmosphere, the circumambient
air being changed into a morbid condition composed
of noxious and evil exhalations, as medical theory
teaches us. And on other grounds, too, this story
of the phantom plague can be exploded ; for the
story tells us that it only afflicted the city of Ephesus,
and did not visit the neighbouring populations ;
and how could this not have been the case, if the
surrounding atmosphere had undergone vitiation ?
for the infection could not have been confined to
one spot, nor have beset the air of Ephesus
alone.

CAP.
XXIV

Τέταρτον αὐτῷ παράδοξον Ἀχιλλέως ἦν ψυχῇ
 πρότερον μὲν ἐν χλαμύδι πεντάπηχυς, εἴτα
 δωδεκάπηχυς τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ
 μνήματι φαινομένη, Θετταλούς τε καταιτίωμένη,
 ὅτι δὴ τὰ ἐναγίσματα αὐτῷ, ὥς ἔθος ἦν, οὐκ
 ἐπετέλουν, μνηιώσά τε εἰσέτι Τρωσὶ τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν
 πεπλημμελημένων, καὶ προστάπτουσα τῷ Ἀπολ-
 λωνίῳ πέντε λόγους, οὓς ἂν αὐτός τε βούλοιτο
 καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι συγχωροῖεν, ἀνερέσθαι. εἶθ' ὁ
 πάντα εἰδὼς καὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν αὐχῶν
 ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, εἰ τάφου τύχοι Ἀχιλλεύς, καὶ εἰ
 Μουσῶν θρῆνοι καὶ Νηρηίδων ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγόνασι,
 καὶ περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν ἀνερωτᾷ καὶ διαπυνθάνεται,
 εἰ Πολυξένη ἐπισφαγείη αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ Ἑλένη ἐς
 Τροίαν ἐληλύθοι, ὥς σεμνά γε καὶ κατεπείγοντα
 εἰς τὸν φιλόσοφον βίον τοῦ ἥρωος καὶ σπουδῆς
 ἄξια ἐρωτήματα. θαυμάζει δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἰ
 τοσοῦτοι ἥρωες παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐνὶ χρόνῳ
 γεγόνασι, καὶ εἰ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τροίαν Παλαμήδης.
 τὸν δὴ θεῶν ὀρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὀρωμένων
 ὁμιλητὴν τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ περὶ τοιούτων
 ἀνερωτᾶν, ποίας οὐχὶ γένοιτ' ἂν αἰσχύνης; εἰ μὴ
 ἄρα, ἐπειδὴ, νεκροῖς ὁμιλῶν εἰσῆκται, ἐπὶ τὸ

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XXIV

THE fourth wonder which he relates is how the soul of Achilles appeared close by his own sepulchre, dressed the first time in a tunic, and five cubits high, and subsequently growing till it was twelve cubits in stature, and accusing the Thessalians for not continuing according to custom to offer him the due funeral rites, and furthermore still nursing wrath against the Trojans for the wrongs which they had committed against him, and bidding Apollonius ask him questions on five topics, such as he himself might desire to learn about, and the Fates permit him to know of. We next learn that the omniscient one, who boasted of his prescience of future events, was still ignorant of whether Achilles had been buried, and of whether the Muses and Nereids had bestowed their dirges upon him. And accordingly he asked Achilles about these matters, and enquires most earnestly whether Polyxena had been slain over his tomb, and whether Helen had really come to Troy, —questions surely of a most solemn kind, and such as to stimulate others to lead the philosophical life of the hero, besides being in themselves of much importance. Thereupon he falls to wondering if there had ever been among the Hellenes so many heroes all at one time, and whether Palamedes had ever reached Troy. Surely it was disgraceful in the extreme that one who was the companion of gods, whether seen or unseen, should know so little of such matters as to need to ask questions again and again about them? Unless, indeed, because in this scene he is introduced as associating with the dead, the

CHAP.
XXIV
The ghost
of Achilles

CAP.
XXIV

ψυχρότερον μεταποιεῖ τὰς πεύσεις ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὥς ἂν ὑπεκλύσειε τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ πέρα τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτὸν περιειργάσθαι δοκεῖν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπολογούμενον αὐτὸν ὑπογράφει, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ νεκρομαντείαν ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς φανείσης ὄψεως γένοιτο, “οὔτε γὰρ βόθρον,” εἶπεν, “Ὀδυσσεὺς ὀρυξάμενος, οὐδ’ ἄρνων αἵμασι ψυχαγωγήσας, ἐς διάλεξιν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἦλθον, ἀλλ’ εὐξάμενος ὁπόσα τοῖς ἥρωσιν Ἴνδοί φασι δεῖν εὔξασθαι.” καὶ ταῦτα νῦν πρὸς τὸν ἐταῖρον ἀποσεμνύνεται ὁ μηδὲν μαθεῖν παρ’ Ἰνδῶν, μηδὲ ζηλῶσαι τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῖς σοφίαν πρὸς τοῦ συγγραφέως μεμαρτυρημένος.

XXV

CAP.
XXV

Τί δῆτα οὖν, ὦ οὗτος, εἰ μὴ τις ἦν κακοήθης περιεργία, μηδὲ τὸν ἕνα σοι καὶ γνήσιον καὶ μόνον ἐταῖρον Δάμιν κοινωνὸν ἐποιοῦ τῆς θαυμαστῆς ταύτης ὄψεως τε καὶ ὁμιλίας; τί δ’ οὐχὶ καὶ δι’ ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ τῶν νυκτῶν ἄνωρ καὶ μόνον; τί δὲ καὶ ἤλαυνον τὴν τοῦ ἥρωος ψυχὴν ἀλεκτρυόνων βοαί; “ἀπῆλθε γάρ,” φησι, “ξὺν ἀστραπῇ μετρία, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνες ἤδη ὤδῃς ἤπτοντο.” daίμοσι μὲν οὖν πονηροῖς γένοιτ’ ἂν ἴσως ὁ τῆς ὥρας ἐπιτήδειος εἰς περιέργους ὁμιλίας καιρὸς, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ ἡρώϊδι ψυχῇ, ἣν τῆς παχείας τοῦ

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author intentionally gives a frigid turn to his questions, in order to avert the suspicion of his having irreligiously pryed into the secrets of magic. For we may notice he represents him as arguing in his Apology that there was no colour of necromancy in the manner in which the spectre appeared to him, and says: "For without digging any trench like Odysseus, and without tempting the souls of the dead with the blood of lambs, I managed to converse with Achilles, merely by using the prayers which the Indians declare we ought to make use of in addressing heroes." This is how Apollonius now brags to his companion, although our author testifies that he had learned nothing from the Indians nor felt attracted by their wisdom.

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WHAT then is the reason, my good fellow, supposing that there was no devilish curiosity here at work, why he would not allow Damis, whom you admit to have been his sole and genuine and single companion, to share with him in this marvellous vision and interview? And why, too, was he not able to do all this by daytime, instead of doing it in the dead of night and alone? Why, too, did the mere cry of the cocks drive away the soul of the hero? For he says, "It vanished with a mild flash of lightning, for indeed the cocks were already beginning to crow." I cannot but think that evil demons would have found such an hour seasonable and appropriate for their devilish interviews, rather than the soul of a hero which, having been freed from the

CHAP.
XXV
Eusebius suggests that an evil spirit appeared to Apollonius

CAP.
XXV

σώματος ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν ὕλης ἀγαθὴν καὶ πανά-
ρετον εἶναι χρεών. ὃ γε μὴν εἰσηγμένος ἐνταῦθα
δαίμων βάσκανός καὶ φθονερός τὸν τρόπον, ὀργίλος
τε καὶ ταπεινὸς τὴν διάθεσιν ὑποτετύπεται. ἢ
οὐχὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ τὸν Ἀντισθένην μειράκιόν τι
σπουδαῖον ὡς ἂν δὴ φιλοσόφῳ συνέπεσθαι τῷ
Ἀπολλωνίῳ πειρώμενον ἀπείργων; προστάττει
γὰρ τὸ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν συνέμπορον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
φιλοσοφίας, ἐπιλέγων τὴν αἰτίαν. “Πριαμίδης τε
γάρ,” φησιν, “ἱκανῶς ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα ὑμνῶν
οὐ παύεται.” πῶς δὲ οὐκ ὀργίλος καὶ ταπεινὸς ὁ
Θετταλοῖς, ὅτι μὴ θύοιεν αὐτῷ, θυμούμενος, καὶ
Τρωσίν, ὅτι δὴ πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἐτῶν εἰς αὐτὸν
διημαρτήκασι, μὴ καταλλασσόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα
θύουσι καὶ συνεχῶς σπενδομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν
Παλαμήδους τάφον αὐτῷ ἀγάλματι φαύλως ἐρριμ-
μένῳ ἀναλαβεῖν ἐγκελευόμενος;

XXVI

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XXVI

Τὸ μέντοι πέμπτον καὶ ἕκτον θαῦμα οὐ
πολλῆς ἂν δέοιτο τοῦ λόγου διατριβῆς εἰς
ἐνδειξιν τῆς τοῦ γράφοντος εὐχερείας· δαίμονας
γὰρ ἀπελαύνει ἄλλῳ ἄλλον, ἢ φασι, δαίμονι.
τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀκολάστου μειρακίου, τὸν δὲ ἐπι-
πλάστως εἰς γυναικείαν μορφήν σχηματιζόμενον

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crass matter of the body, must necessarily be good CHAP. XXV and unsullied. In any case the demon conjured up on this occasion is represented as of a malignant and envious disposition, both rancorous and mean in humour. For how else can we characterise one who drove away Antisthenes, a poor youth so serious that he was endeavouring to become a follower of the philosopher Apollonius? For Achilles insists that he shall not initiate him in his philosophy, and he adds the reason: "For," says he, "he is too much of a descendant of Priam, and the praise of Hector is never out of his mouth." And how could he be other than rancorous and mean, if he was wrath with the Thessalians for not sacrificing to him, and still refused to be reconciled to the Trojans, because thousands of years before they had sinned against him, and that although the latter were continually sacrificing and pouring out libations to him? The only exception is that he ordered Apollonius to restore the tomb of Palamedes, which together with his statue had fallen into decay.

XXVI

THE fifth and sixth miracles however in this book CHAP. XXVI do not stand in need of much argument and discussion, so thoroughly do they prove our writer's easy credulity. For Apollonius, as they say, drives out one demon with the help of another. The first of the demons is expelled from an incorrigible youth, while the second disguises itself by assuming the form of a woman: and the latter our clever author

CAP.
XXVI

τουτονι δὲ τὸν δαίμονα ἔμπουσαν καὶ λάμιαν
αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ὁ σοφώτατος ἀποκαλεῖ. τό γε
μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως μετὰ ταῦτα κόριον,
ὃ τι δὴ μετὰ θάνατον ἐπὶ δευτέραν ζῶην ἤγαγεν
ἀπιστότατον καὶ αὐτῷ δόξαν τῷ Φιλοστράτῳ
παραιτητέον. ἐν δισταγμῷ μέντοι ἀμφιβάλλει,
μὴ ἄρα σπινθήρ τις ψυχῆς ἐνυπάρχων τῇ παιδὶ
τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἐλελήθει. λέγεσθαι γάρ
φησιν, “ὡς ψακάζοι μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἡ δὲ ἀτμίζου
ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου.” καὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰ ἀληθῶς αὐτῷ
τοιόνδε ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης ἐπέπρακτο, οὐκ ἂν
ἐλελήθει βασιλέα τε πρῶτον καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτὸν
ὑπάρχους ἅπαντας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν φιλόσοφον
Εὐφράτην ἐγχωριάζοντα κατ’ ἐκείνο καιροῦ καὶ
ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης διατρίβοντα, ὃς δὴ εἰς ὕστερον
τὴν κατ’ αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν, ὡς δὴ κατὰ γόητος
ὑποβάλλειν ἱστόρηται. πάντως γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοῦτο
εἰ δὴ τοῦτο γεγονὸς ἦν, ταῖς ἄλλαις κατ’ αὐτοῦ
διαβολαῖς πρὸς τοῦ κατηγοροῦ συγκατείλεκτο
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ’ εἶδος αὐτῷ πεπραγ-
μένα τοσαῦτα, μυρία δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ πρόγνωσιν
αὐτὸν λέγων προμαντεύσασθαι τε καὶ προειρη-
κέναι γράφει, καὶ ὡς Ἀθήνησι βουλευθέντα μνηθῆ-
ναι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ὁ τῇδε εἶρξεν ἱερεὺς, μὴ ἂν ποτὶ
φήσας μνήσεσθαι γόητα, μηδὲ τὰ Ἐλευσίνια
ἰνοῖξαι ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ δαιμόνια. ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῷ ἀσελγῶς ἀγείρουσι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, κα-
τὰς Νέρωνος μετὰ κιθάρας ἐπὶ μισθῷ διεξιόντ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

calls by no other names than those of Empusa and Lamia. As* for the damsel whom he is said subsequently to have brought back again to life in Rome after she had died, the story clearly impressed Philostratus himself as being extremely incredible, and we may safely reject it. Anyhow he hesitates and doubts, whether after all a spark of life might have not lingered on in the girl unnoticed by her attendants. For he says that according to report "it was raining at the time, and a vapour exhaled from the face of the girl." Anyhow if such a miracle had really been wrought in Rome itself, it could not have escaped the notice first of the emperor and after him of his subordinate magistrates, and least of all of the philosopher Euphrates who at the time was in the country and was staying in Rome, who indeed, as we learn later on, is related to have launched against Apollonius the accusation of being no other than a wizard. It would certainly too, had it actually occurred, have been included by the accuser among the other charges levelled against him. Well, just these and no more are the more particular and special achievements of Apollonius, although there are a myriad other cases in the book in which his sooth-sayings and prophecies are set down to his gift of foreknowledge; and we learn that at Athens, when he desired to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, the priest there would not admit him, and declared that he would never initiate a wizard nor throw open the Eleusinian mysteries to a man who was addicted to impure rites. We also hear about a lewd fellow who went begging about Rome, rehearsing the songs of Nero on his lyre for pay; and we are told that

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The girl
raised from
the dead
in Rome

CAP.
XXVI

ῥῥάς, μισθὸν ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς ἐταίροις τῆς σοφῆς
ταύτης ἐπιτηδεύσεως ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος διὰ τὸν
Νέρωνος φόβον προστάττει.

XXVII

CAP.
XXVII

Ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου περιγραφέντος, ἐν
τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς εἰπὼν τινα
περὶ προγνώσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθαυμάσας αὐτὸν
συγγραφεύς, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν “ὅτι μὲν
δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαιμονία κινήσει προέλεγε καὶ ὅτι
τοῖς γόητα ἡγουμένοις τὸν ἄνδρα οὐχ ὑγιαίνει αὐτὸν
λόγος, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, σκεψώμεθα δὲ
κάκεῖνα· οἱ γόητες, ἡγοῦμαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ
κακοδαιμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνου
εἰδώλων χωροῦντες, οἱ δ’ ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ
δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπαῖσαι τι ἢ ἀλεῖψαι, μεταποιεῖν φασι τὰ
εἰμαρμένα, ὁ δὲ εἶπετο μὲν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, καὶ
προέλεγεν, ὡς ἀνάγκη ἔσσεσθαι αὐτά, προέλεγε δὲ
οὐ γοητεύων, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἔφαινον· ἰδὼν δὲ
παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἶνον
χόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὕτως
ὅπως σοφίζονται αὐτὰ ἤρετο, οὐτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν
ἀλλ’ ἐπῆναι μὲν, ζηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἠξίου.” ταῦτα δὲ
λέγων δῆλός ἐστι τοὺς περιβοήτους Ἰνδῶν φιλο

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

this most philosophic of teachers out of fear of Nero CHAP.
ordered his companions to bestow alms on him in XXVI
recognition of his clever accomplishments.

XXVII

SUCH are the contents of the fourth book, and in CHAP.
the fifth book of his history, after a few remarks XXVII
about his gift of prescience, our author is so lost in The charge
admiration as to add the following remark, which I of wizardry
repeat textually. "That then he was enabled to true
make such forecasts by some divine impulse, and
that it is no sound inference to suppose, as some
people do, that Apollonius was a wizard, is clear from
what I have said. But let us consider the following
facts : wizards, whom for my part I reckon to be the
most unfortunate of mankind, claim to alter the
course of destiny, either by tormenting the ghosts
whom they encounter, or by means of barbaric
sacrifices, or by means of certain incantations or
anointings. But Apollonius himself submitted to the
decrees of the Fates, and foretold that they must
needs come to pass ; and his foreknowledge was not
due to wizardry, but derived from what the gods
revealed to him. And when among the Indians he
beheld their tripods, and their dumb waiters and
other automata which I described as entering the
room of their own accord, he neither asked how
they were contrived, nor wished to learn. He only
praised them, but did not aspire to imitate them."
Such a passage as the above clearly exhibits in the
light of wizards, the famous philosophers of India.

CAP.
XXVII

σόφους γόητας ἀποφαίνων. περὶ γάρ τοι γοήτων
 ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον μνημονεύει καὶ τούτων, σοφί-
 ζεσθαι δὴ τὰ παράδοξα λέγων αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν
 περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος, τῆς τοιασδὶ αὐτῶν σοφιστείας
 ὥς ἂν μὴ ἀστείας ἀλλότριον ὑποτιθέμενος. οὐκοῦν
 εἰ φαίνοιτο τούτους θεοὺς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ διδασκά-
 λους ἐπιγραφόμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥρα
 ταῖς κατὰ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγει
 διαβολαῖς. εἰσῆκται δὴ οὖν παρ' οἷς φησι γυμνοῖ
 Αἰγυπτίων, ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα φάσκων· “οὐκ
 ἀπεικός τε παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἡττηθεῖν
 εὖ κεκοσμημένης, ἣν ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον Ἴνδοι στέλ-
 λαντες ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκ
 κυκλοῦσιν. ὥς δὴ ἐν δίκη μὲν ἡγάσθην, ἐν δίκη
 δὲ ἡγοῦμαι σοφούς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὥρα μανθά-
 νειν.” καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν· “οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ
 θεοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηνται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν.
 καὶ Δομετιανῷ δὲ εἰσῆκται λέγων “καὶ τίς πρὸς
 Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἢ πρὸς Φραώτην τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς
 οὓς ἐγὼ μόνους ἀνθρώπων θεοὺς τέ ἡγοῦμαι καὶ
 ἀξιόους τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης;” καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις
 δὲ ὁμοίως θεοὺς τε καὶ διδασκάλους τᾶνδρὸς ἐπι-
 γράψας ὁ λόγος τοὺς δεδηλωμένους, δακτυλίους τε
 παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι ὁμολογήσας αὐτόν, ἐπιλέ-
 λησται νῦν, καὶ συνδιαβάλλων τοῖς διδασκάλου
 τὸν μαθητὴν οὐκ ἐπαίει.

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For notice that when he is arguing about wizards, he mentions them too and says that their marvels were cleverly contrived indeed, but that his hero held himself carefully aloof from such their contrivances, on the ground that they were not moral. If therefore we find Apollonius calling these Indians gods, and enrolling himself as their disciple, we have no alternative but to bring him also under the imputation under which his teachers lay. And accordingly he is introduced as saying among the so-called Naked sages of the Egyptians, the following,—I quote his very words: “It is then not unreasonable on my part, I think, to have yielded myself to a philosophy so highly elaborated, to a philosophy which, if I may use a metaphor from the stage, the Indians mount, as it deserved to be mounted, upon a lofty and divine mechanism before they wheel it out upon the stage. And that I was right to admire them, and that I am right in considering them wise and blessed, it is now time to learn.” And after a little he says: “For they are not only gods, but are adorned with all the gifts of the Pythian prophetess.” And he is introduced to Domitian with these words on his lips: “What war have you with Iarchas or with Phraotes, both of them Indians, whom I consider to be the only men that are really gods and that deserve this appellation?” And there are other passages also in which this history of Philostratus recognises the persons above mentioned as gods and teachers of the sage, and admits him to have accepted rings from them, but now he forgets all about it, and does not see that in maligning the teachers, he maligns the disciple.

CHAP.
XXVII

XXVIII

CAP.
XXVIII

Ἐποβὰς δ' ἐν τῇ γραφῇ αὐλητὴν ὑποτίθεται
καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὥσπερ τινὸς οὔσης μεγίστης
καὶ σοφωτάτης ἐπιστήμης, τρόπους αὐλήσεω
μάλα σπουδαίως μακροῖς τοῖς διεξηγήμασι
εἵροντα διεξέρχεται· καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Οὐεσπα
σιανὸν οἶα δὴ θεῷ προσεύξασθαι αὐτῷ ἱστορεῖ
καὶ τὸν μὲν ὡς εὐχῇ εἰρηκέναι τὸν Οὐεσπα
σιανόν· “ποίησόν με βασιλέα,” τὸν δὲ ἀπο
κρίνασθαι· “ἐποίησα.” καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν μισήσειε
εὐλόγως τῆς ἀλαζονείας τὴν φωνήν, μανίας τ
μηθὲν ἀποδέουσιν, ὅτε γε ἤδη αὐτὸς θεὸς κα
βασιλέων ποιητὴς εἶναι φρυάττεται ὁ τῆς Αἰγυπ
τίας κυβερνήτης νεώς; τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν
ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος γεγονέναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ταῖς προ
τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὁμιλίαις μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δεδήλωκε

XXIX

CAP.
XXIX

Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάζοι
τῶν φιλοσόφων συμβούλους τῶν πρακτέων
γνωρίσαι αὐτῷ ἀξιοῦντι, κατὰ λέξιν φησὶν
“ἀγαθοὶ δὲ τούτων σύμβουλοι καὶ οἶδε οἱ ἄνδρες
τὸν Δίωνα δείξας καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μήπω αὐτὸν
ἐς διαφορὰν ἤκοντα.” καὶ αὖθις, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,
εἶπεν, “Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων πάλαι σοι γνώριμοι

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XXVIII

AND a little lower down in the book he brings a flute-player upon the stage, and he relates at length how Apollonius delivered himself with great gravity of long essays upon the different modes of playing the flute, as if it were the most important and clever of the sciences. And he relates how the Emperor Vespasian offered him prayers just as if he were a god, for we learn that Vespasian said in a tone of prayer: "Do thou make me Emperor," whereupon Apollonius answered: "I have made you so." What else can anyone do but loathe this utterance for its boastfulness, so nearly does it approach downright madness, for one who was the pilot of a ship in Egypt to boast of being himself god already and a maker of kings? For Apollonius himself has informed us a little before in the course of his conversation with the Indian that his soul had previously been that of a pilot.

CHAP.
XXVIII
Apollonius
the king-
maker

XXIX

AND to the same Emperor, when the latter asks him to notify to him those whom he most approved of among philosophers as advisers and counsellors of his policy, Apollonius replies in these words: "These gentlemen here are also good advisers in such matters," and he pointed to Dion and to Euphrates, because he had not yet quarrelled with the latter." And again, he said, "My sovereign, Euphrates and Dion have long been known to you

CHAP.
XXIX
Relations
with
Euphrates

CAP.
XXIX

ὄντες πρὸς θύραις εἰσὶν οὐκ ἀφρόντιδες τῶν
σῶν. κάλει δὴ κακείνους ἐς κοινὸν λόγον, σοφὰ
γὰρ τὸ ἄνδρε.” πρὸς ἃ Οὔεσπασιανός, “ἀκλεί-
τους,” ἔφη, “θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν·
εὖγε τῆς προγνώσεως τοῦ ἥρωος· Εὐφράτης νῦν
ἀγαθός τε καὶ σοφός, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐς διαφορὰν πα-
αὐτῷ ἐληλύθει· εἰ δ’ ἔλθοι—ὅσον οὐπω δὲ τοῦτο
ἔσται—ὄρα οἷα περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς Δομε-
τιανὸν γράφει· “καὶ μὴν ὅποσα γίγνεται φιλο-
σόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς δηλοῖ το
Εὐφράταν· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν, τί λέγω χρήματα
πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι πλούτου, καπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν
ἤδη διαλέγεται κάπηλος ὑποκάπηλος τελώνη
ὀβολοστάτης, πάντα γιγνόμενος τὰ πωλούμενά τ
καὶ πωλοῦντα, ἐντετύπωται δὲ αἰεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνα-
τῶν θύραις, καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλείω καιρὸν
ἢ οἱ θυρωροί, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν
πολλάκις, ὥσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λίχνοι· δραχμὴν
δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ ποτε προέμενος, ἐπιτειχίζει
νῦν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλούτον, ἐτέροις τὸν Αἰγύπτιο
τουτονὶ βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ ὀξυνῶν ἐπ’ ἐμ-
γλῶτταν ἀξίαν ἐκτετμήσθαι. Εὐφράτην μὲν δι-
καταλείπω σοί, σὺ γάρ, ἦν μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινήσας
εὐρήσεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον κακίῳ ἢ ἐρμηνεύῳ.”
δὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸν Οὔεσπασιανὸν σοφὸν
καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην μαρτυρόμενος, πρὸς δὲ
τὸν υἱὸν ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ διεξιὼν, δηλὸς ἂν εἴη

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and they are at your door, and are much concerned for your welfare. Summon them also therefore to our conference, for they are both of them wise.” Whereupon Vespasian answered: “I throw my doors open wide to wise men.” What can we think of the prescience of our hero? On this occasion Euphrates is both good and wise, because he has not yet quarrelled with him; but when he has,—and before long he is going to,—then we see how the same person writes to the Emperor Domitian: “And yet if you want to know how much a philosopher may attain by flattery of the mighty you have only to look at the case of Euphrates. For in his case why do I speak of wealth from that source? Why, he has perfect mountains of wealth, and already at the banks he discusses prices as a merchant might or a huckster, as a tax-gatherer or a low money-changer; for all these rôles are his if there is anything to buy or sell. And he clings like a limpet to the doors of the mighty, and you see him standing at them more regularly than any doorkeeper would do; indeed he is often caught by the doorkeepers, just as greedy dogs might be. But he never yet bestowed a farthing on a philosopher, but he walls up all his wealth within his house; only supporting this Egyptian out of other people’s money, and sharpening his tongue against me, when it ought to be cut out. However I will leave Euphrates to yourself: for unless you approve of flatterers, you will find the fellow worse than I represent him.” Surely one who first bears witness to Vespasian the father that Euphrates is a wise and good man, and then inveighs against him in this style to his son, is openly convicted of praising

CHAP.
XXIX

CAP.
XXIX

τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπαινῶν τε καὶ ψέγων. ἄρ' οὖν ὁ τῶν
τῶν μελλόντων προειληφὼς γινώσιν ἡγνόμε, ὃς ἦν
τε καὶ ἔσται τὸν τρόπον ὁ Εὐφράτης ; καὶ γὰρ οὐ
νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὡς δὴ το ἦθος μοχθηρότατον
βούλεται. πῶς δὴ οὖν τὸν τοιόνδε συνίστη
βασιλεῖ, ὡς καὶ ἀκλείστους αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς παρ'
αὐτοῦ συστάσεις τῶν βασιλείων ἀναπεπετάσθαι
τὰς πύλας ; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τυφλῷ, φασί, δῆλον
ὡς ἄρα πρόγνωσιν μὲν συκοφαντεῖται πρὸς τοῦ
συγγραφέως ὁ ἄνθρωπος, εἴη δ' ἂν ἄλλως γενναῖος,
πάλαι μὲν πρὸ πείρας ἀφθόνως ἐταίροις, ἀτὰρ καὶ
τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τῆς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια παρόδου κοινωνῶν,
ὑστερον δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἔνεκα τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ
λέγων. οὐπω μοι διαβάλλειν ὁ λόγος βούλεται
τὸν ἄνδρα, ὡς ἂν τὸν Εὐφράτην συκοφαντοῦντα,
φιλοσόφων γενόμενον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοξότα-
τον, ὡς καὶ ἐς δεῦρ', οἷς μέτεστι φιλοσοφίας,
ἄδεσθαι, ὃ καὶ μέγιστον λάβοι ἂν τις, εἰ βούλοιτο,
παράδειγμα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαβολῆς.
εἰ γὰρ οὖν ὁ Εὐφράτης παρ' αὐτοῖς πάσῃ φιλο-
σοφίᾳ διαπρέψαι ὁμολογηθείη, ὥρα μισοπονηρίαν
μὲν ἐκείνου κατηγορεῖν, ἐπεξιόντος τοῖς ἀτόπως
ὑπὸ τοῦδε δρωμένοις, τουτονὶ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνου
κατηγορούμενον φαύλην περιβάλλεσθαι δόξαν,
ὅτι δὴ μὴ τὸν ἀρέσκοντα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ μετῆει
βίον.

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d blaming the same person. Was it then the case CHAP.
 at this man, who was endowed with knowledge of XXIX
 the future, did not know what the character of
 Euphrates was, nor what it was going to be? For
 is not now the first time, but already in the case
 of Vespasian himself he is inclined to accuse him
 of being the worst of characters. How then is it
 that he recommended such a person to the sovereign
 so warmly, that in consequence of his recommenda-
 tion the latter threw open wide the doors of his palace
 to him? Why, is it not clear to a blind man, as
 they say, that in the matter of foreknowledge
 the fellow is traduced by his own historian; though
 on other ground he might be regarded as an honest
 man, if we could suppose that originally, and before
 he was learned by experience, he wished to gain access
 to the palace as freely for his friends, Euphrates
 excluded, as for himself, but was afterwards moved
 by his quarrel to use such language of him. I have
 no wish in thus arguing to accuse Apollonius of
 having falsely blamed Euphrates, who was the most
 distinguished philosopher of all the men of his age,
 much so that his praises are still on the lips of
 students of philosophy. Not but what anyone who
 is minded to do so could take this as a palmary
 example of slander and back-biting and use it
 against Apollonius. For if Euphrates be really by
 his admission a leader in all philosophy, it is open
 to us to accuse his rival of censoriousness, when he
 attacks him for his monstrous conduct; and to sup-
 pose that the latter contracted his evil reputation
 because he was thus attacked by him for pursuing,—
 that was the accusation,—a life so little satisfactory
 to a philosopher.

XXX

CAP.
XXX

Πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ παραδοξολογῶν ὁ μυθολόγος ἄγει μὲν αὐτόν, ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις καμήλαρ ὀχου-
μενον, ἐφ' οὓς φησιν Ἀἰγυπτίων γυμνοὺς φιλο-
σόφους, ἔνθα δὴ προστάξαντος τοῦ γυμνοῦ
πτελέα, φησί, τὸ δένδρον προσαγορεύει τὸν
Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θήλει τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ
τούτοις γε ἡμᾶς ὁ Φιλαλήθης πιστεύειν ἄξιοι.
εἶτα Πυγμαίους ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τούτων ἱστορίαν
χώραν καὶ Ἀνθρωποφάγους καὶ Σκιάποδας
σάτυρόν τε πρὸς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μεθυσκόμενον
ἐξ ἐκείνων δ' αὖθις ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
ὁμιλῖαι τε πάλιν αὐτῷ καὶ προγνώσεις ἀνακου-
νοῦνται πρὸς Τίτον, καὶ δηχθέντα ἔφηβον ὑπὸ
λυττῶντος κυνός, ὃν δὴ καὶ ἐμαντεύσατο, ὅς τις
εἴη τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅτι ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ποτὲ βασιλεὺς
Ἀμασις, τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάττει, μέχρι καὶ
τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτείνας τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.

XXXI

CAP.
XXXI

Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸ τῆς κατηγορίας αὐτοῦ
πεπραγμένα, ἐπιστῆσαι δ' ἄξιον δι' ὅλης τῆς
πραγματείας, ὥς ὅτι καὶ ἀληθεύειν δοθῇ τῷ
συγγραφεῖ τὰ παράδοξα, συνεργεῖα δαίμονος
ἕκαστον αὐτῷ διαπεπράχθαι τούτων σαφῶς

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XXX

IN the sixth book our story-teller resumes his tale of miracles ; for he brings his hero, together with his companions, on camel-back to see those whom he calls the Naked philosophers of Egypt. Here then at the bidding of one of these sages an elm-tree, we are told, spoke to Apollonius in an articulate but feminine voice, and this is the sort of thing which the Lover of Truth expects us to believe. Then he has a story of pigmies who live on the other side of their country and of man-eaters and of shadow-footed men and of a satyr whom Apollonius made drunk. From these sages Apollonius is brought back again to Hellas, where he renews his interviews and his prophecies to Titus. Then we hear about a youth who was bitten by a mad dog. He is rescued from his distress by Apollonius, who forthwith proceeds to divine whose soul it was that the dog had inside him ; and we learn that it was that of Amasis, former king of Egypt, for the sage's humanity extended to dogs.¹

CHAP.
XXX
The visit to
the Naked
Sages of
Ethiopia

XXXI

THESE then are the achievements which preceded his accusation, and it behoves us to notice throughout the treatise that, even if we admit the author to tell the truth in his stories of miracles, he yet clearly shows that they were severally performed by Apollonius with the co-operation of a demon. For his

CHAP.
XXXI
Apollonius'
miracles
due to the
co-operations
of
evil demons

¹ Eusebius confuses the mad dog of VI 43 with the tame one of V 42.

CAP.
XXXI

δείκνυνται. τό τε γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ προαισθέσθαι ἴσως μὲν οὐδὲ περίεργον ἂν δόξειεν, εἰ ἀπὸ λεπτοτάτης καὶ καθαρᾶς διαίτης κατείληπτο, ὥς αὐτὸς ἔφησεν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξ ὁμιλίας δαίμονος αὐτῷ προμεμήνυτο. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὅσα κατὰ πρόγνωσιν διειληφώς τε καὶ προειρηκώς εἰσῆκται, εἰ καὶ μυρίοις ἐλέγχοις ἐξ αὐτῆς πάρεστι τῆς τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφῆς εὐθύνειν, ὅμως ἵνα συγχωρηθείη καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι ἀληθές, κατὰ περίεργον μηχανὴν εἵποιμ' ἂν πρὸς δαίμονος αὐτῷ παρέδρου τινὰ τῶν μελλόντων, οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντα, κατελιῆφθαι. τοῦτο δὲ παρίστησι σαφές τὸ μὴ δι' ὅλου καὶ περὶ πάντων τὴν πρόγνωσιν αὐτὸν ἀποσώζειν, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ἐν πλείστοις καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι δι' ἄγνοϊαν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν, εἰ θείας ἀρετῆς μετῇν αὐτῷ, πεπόνθειν καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ παῦσαι τὸν λοιμόν, ὅποῖον εἴληχε τὸ δρᾶμα, ὅτι φάσμα καὶ οὐδέν τι πλέον ἦν, προδεδήλωται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ Ἀχιλλέως παρὰ τῷ αὐτοῦ μνήματι τί ἂν διατρίβοι, τὰς ἐν μακάρων νήσοις, ὥς ἂν φήσειέ τις, ἀπολείπουσα διαγωγάς, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο δαίμονος ἦν ἐπιφανείας παρουσία; καὶ τοῦ ἀσελγοῦς δὲ μεираκίου σαφῶς ἔνοικον δαίμονα, καὶ πάλιν, ἣν ἔφησεν ἔμπουςάι τε καὶ λάμϊαν ἐμπεπαρϋνηκέναι τῷ Μενίππῳ, μείζονι τάχ' ἴσως ἐξελέηλακε δαίμονι, ὁμοίως τε

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presentiment of the plague, though it might not seem to be magical and uncanny, if he owed it, as he himself said, to the lightness and purity of his diet, yet might quite as well have been a premonition imparted to him in intercourse with a demon. For though the other stories of his having grasped and foretold the future by virtue of his prescience can be refuted by a thousand arguments which Philostratus' own text supplies, nevertheless, if we allow this particular story to be true, I should certainly say that his apprehension of futurity was anyhow in some cases, though it was not so in all, due to some uncanny contrivance of a demon that was his familiar. This is clearly proved by the fact that he did not retain his gift of foreknowledge uniformly and in all cases; but was at fault in most cases, and had through ignorance to make enquiries, as he would not have needed to do, if he had been endowed with divine power and virtue. And the very cessation of the plague, according to the particular turn which was given to the drama, has already been shown to have been a delusion and nothing more. Moreover, the soul of Achilles should not have been lingering about his own monument, quitting the Islands of the Blest and the places of repose, as people would probably say. In this case too it was surely a demon that appeared to Apollonius and in whose presence he found himself? Then again the licentious youth was clearly the victim of an indwelling demon; and both it and the Empusa and the Lamia which is said to have played off its mad pranks on Menippus, were probably driven out by him with the help of a more important demon; the same is

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αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν τὰς φρένας παρατραπέντα νεανίαν
 ὑπὸ τοῦ λυττῶντος κυνός, αὐτόν τε τὸν δαιμονῶντα
 κύνα τῇ αὐτῇ μετήλλαξε μεθόδῳ. ὅρα δὴ οὖν
 ἔφην, τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῷ παραδοξοποιίαν, ὡς διὰ
 δαιμονικῆς ἀπετελεῖτο ὑπουργίας. τὸ γὰρ τῆς
 ἀναβιωσάσης κόρης, εἴγ' ἔμπνους ὑπῆρχε, σπιν-
 θήρᾳ ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν συγγραφέα καὶ ἰκμάδα
 ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου φέρουσα, περιαιρετέον τῆς
 θαυματοποιίας· οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ἔφην,
 σιωπῇ τὸ τηλικούτο παρεδόθη ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης
 βασιλέως ἐπιπαρόντος γεγεννημένον.

XXXII

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Μυρία μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα πάρεστιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν
 ἀναλέξασθαι συγγραμμάτων, τό τε ἐν αὐτοῖς
 εὐέλεγκτον καὶ ἀσύστατον μυθῶδες τε καὶ
 τερατῶδες ἀπευθύνειν. ὅμως, ἐπεὶ γε οὐδὲ πολλῆς
 τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖται σπουδαιολογίας, οὐχ ὅτι
 γε ἐν θείοις καὶ παροδόξοις καὶ θαυμασίοις, ἀλλ'
 οὐδ' ἐν φιλοσόφοις παρά τισι τῶν νῦν μνήμης
 ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῦ, τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀρκεσθέντες
 μετίωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔβδομον περὶ αὐτοῦ
 σύγγραμμα.

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true also of the youth who had been driven out of ^{CHAP.} his mind by the mad dog; and the frenzied dog ^{XXXI} itself was restored to its senses by the same method. You must then, as I said, regard the whole series of miracles wrought by him, as having been accomplished through a ministry of demons; for the resuscitation of the girl must be divested of any miraculous character, if she was really alive all the time and still bore in herself a vital spark, as the author says, and if a vapour rose over her face. ^{Ch. 29} For it is impossible, as I said before, that such a miracle should have been passed over in silence in Rome itself, if it happened when the sovereign was close by.

XXXII

THERE are a thousand other examples then which ^{CHAP.} we may select from the same books, where the ^{XXXII} narrative refutes itself by its very incongruities, so enabling us to detect its mythical and miracle-mongering character. At the same time we need not devote too much attention and study to the gentleman's career, seeing that those of our contemporaries among whom his memory survives at all, are so far from classing him among divine and extraordinary and wonderful beings, that they do not even rank him among philosophers. This being so, let us be content with the remarks we have made, and proceed to consider the seventh book of his history.

XXXIII

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Κατηγορεῖται δῆτα γοητεῖαν ὁ ἀνὴρ. εἶτα Δημητρίῳ φιλοσόφῳ ἀποτρέποντι αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην παρόδου, μὴ πειθόμενος, ἐπαχθῇ τινα καὶ φορτικὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὧδέ πως λέγει· “ἐγὼ δὲ γιγνώσκω μὲν πλείστα ἀνθρώπων, ἅτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὧν οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίοις, τὰ δὲ σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἑμαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς.” καὶ δὴ ὁ ἐκ τούτοις πάντ’ εἰδέναι μεγαλαυχούμενος, προῖων ἀγνοιάν τινων πρὸς τοῦ λόγου κατηγορεῖται. εἶτα Δάμις αὐτῷ μεταπλάττεται, διὰ θανάτου φόβου τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπικρυπτόμενος. ἄκουε δ’ οὖν τοῦ συγγραφέως, ἃ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀπολογούμενος· “αἰτία μὲν ἦδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμιον τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ κακία γὰρ αὐτὸ μεθεῖναι φησιν, οὐδὲ μεταγνούς, τέχνη δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἣν ὑπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ.”

XXXIV

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Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος τέσσαρας αἰτίας τὰς δὴ εὐχερεῖς αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν νομισθείσας ἐκτίθησιν, ἀπὸ πλείστων καὶ ἄλλων αὐτὰ ὁμολογῶν ἀνειλέχθαι, ὧν ἡ μὲν τις ἦν, τί δῆτα

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HERE then we find him categorically accused of being a wizard. Next we find Demetrius the philosopher trying to dissuade him from going on to Rome, and Apollonius rejects his advice in words which are full of vulgar effrontery and fulsome praise of himself. They are as follows: "But I know most human affairs, seeing that I know everything; at the same time I reserve my knowledge partly for good men, partly for the wise, partly for myself, partly for the gods." And yet the man who in these words brags about his omniscience, before he goes much further is accused by the text itself of an ignorance in certain matters. Next Apollonius disguises Damis, for the latter conceals the fact of his being a philosopher because he is afraid of death. Listen then to the words in which our author apologises for him: "This was the reason then of Damis' putting off his Pythagorean dress. For he says that it was not cowardice that led him to make the change, nor regret at having worn it; but he did it because the device recommended itself as suggested by the expedience of the moment."

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After this Philostratus sets forth four counts of the indictment which he imagines it will be easy for his hero to defend himself from, and he admits that he has collected these out of a great many others. Of these the first was: What induced him

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μαθὼν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἅπασιν ἔχοι στολήν, ἡ δέ, τοῦ χάριν οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεὸν αὐτὸν νενομίκασι, τρίτην, πόθεν προείποι Ἐφεσίοις τὸν λοιμόν ἐπὶ ταύταις, τίνι βαδίσας εἰς ἀγρὸν ἀνατέμον τὸν παῖδα τὸν Ἀρκάδα. πρὸς ταύτας δέ φησι καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν αὐτὸν γεγραφέναι. πρότερον δὲ ἱστορεῖ δεσμοῖς αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι καὶ τι θανάμαστον ἐνταῦθα κατεργάσασθαι. τῷ γάρ τοι Δάμιδι μάλα λυπηρῶς, ὥς ἂν ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τοῦ διδασκάλου, διακειμένῳ αὐτόματον ἐπιδείξαι λελυμένον τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸ σκέλος, εἶτα πάλιν ἀναλαβόντ' αὐτὸν τῆς λύπης ἐνθεῖναι εἰς τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα τὸν πόδα. μετὰ τοῦτο κρινόμενον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλέως Δομετιανοῦ γράφει δὴ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολυθῆναι, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λύσιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀκαίρως, μοι δοκεῖν, ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀναφωνῆσαι, “δός, εἰ βούλει, κάμοι τόπον, εἰ δὲ μή, πέμπε τὸν ληψόμενόν μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον. μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἂν τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν λάβοις.”

οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὗτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι.” καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ περιβοήτῳ ῥήματι ἀφανισθῆναι τοῦ δικαστηρίου φησὶν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ καταστρέφει δράμα.

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Ὁ μὲν οὖν συγγραφεὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ δεσμωτήριον θαύματος, κατὰ φαντασίαν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρέδρου δαίμονος τῷ Δάμιδι ἑωραμένου, ἐπι-

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to wear a different robe from everybody else? and the second: Why was it that men esteemed him to be a god? the third, How had he managed to predict the plague to the Ephesians? and last of all: In whose behoof had he gone to a certain field and cut up the Arcadian boy? To meet these then he alleges Apollonius to have written an apology. But first of all he relates how he was cast into prison, and the miracle which he wrought there. For we hear that Damis was extremely downcast at the misfortunes which he imagined had befallen his teacher; whereupon Apollonius showed him his leg released without effort from the chain. Then having thus alleviated his follower's grief, he put his foot back again into its former condition and habit. After that he was brought to trial before the Emperor Domitian, and we read that he was acquitted on the charges, and that after being so acquitted he, with curious inopportuneness, as it seems to me, cried out in the court exactly as follows: "Accord me too, if you will, an opportunity to speak; but if not, then send someone to take my body, for my soul you cannot take. Nay you cannot even take my body, 'for thou shalt not slay me, since I tell thee I am not mortal.'" And then after this famous utterance, we are told that he vanished from the court, and this is the conclusion of the whole drama.

XXXV

Now in regard to the miracle in the prison, which it seems was an illusion, imposed on the eyes of Damis by the familiar demon, our author adds the

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φέρει λέγων, “ τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς
 ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἴη
 καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶ
 γὰρ ἂν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ
 εἰπόντα τι, καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἐναρ-
 μόσαντα αὐτῷ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένου
 πράττειν.” ἐγὼ δὲ οὐποτ’ ἂν καταγνοίην βραδυ-
 τῆτα τοῦ φοιτητοῦ, εἰ τὸν πάντα βίον συνὼν
 αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ τινων περιέργων ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἀποτε-
 λούντα τὰ παράδοξα, οὐδέν τι διαφέρειν αὐτὸν
 ἡγεῖτο τῆς θνητῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετὰ
 τοσαύτην θαυματουργίαν τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀγνοεῖ,
 εἰκότως δ’ ἀγωνιᾷ καὶ δέδωκε ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου,
 μή τι πάθοι παρὰ προαίρεσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ πρῶτον
 ἄρτι μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην διατριβήν, ὅτι δὴ θεῖος
 εἴη καὶ κρείττονος ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, συνίησι,
 τὴν τούτου συνιδεῖν ἄξιον αἰτίαν, ἣν αὐτὸς ὁ συγ-
 γραφεὺς δηλοῖ λέγων, “ μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, μηδὲ
 ἐπευξάμενον, μηδέ τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰρηκότα”
 τὸ παράδοξον ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν πεποιηκότα. οὐκοῦν τὰ
 πρότερον διὰ περιέργου μηχανῆς ἐτελεῖτο τῷ
 ἀνδρί, διὸ μηδὲ καταπλήττεσθαι αὐτά, μηδὲ
 θαυμάζειν τὸν Δάμιν· εἰκότως δὲ νῦν τοῦτο
 πρῶτον πέπονθεν, ὡς ξένου τινὸς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παρὰ

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following remark ; “ Damis says that it was then for the first time that he truly understood the nature of Apollonius, to wit that it was divine and super-human ; for without offering any sacrifice,—and how indeed in prison could he have offered one?—and without a single prayer, without even a word, he quietly laughed at the fetters, and then inserting his leg in them afresh, he comported himself like any other prisoner.” I should be the last to accuse his pupil of being a dull-witted man, because, after being with him all his life, and witnessing him work miracles by means of certain uncanny agencies, he failed to regard him as in any way superior to the rest of mortal men ; but now after such a display of thaumaturgic energy as the above, he is still ignorant of his true character ; and taking him to be a mere man he is full of anxiety (as in that case he might well be), and full of apprehension in his behalf, lest any affliction should come upon him against his own wish and will. But if indeed it was now for the first time, after having passed so long a time with him, that he realised that he was indeed divine, and superior to the rest of the human race, then it behoves us to scrutinize the reason which our author alleges for his doing so, in these words : “ For without any sacrifice, and without a single prayer, and without uttering a single mysterious word ” he saw that he had wrought this miracle. It follows that the fellow’s earlier feats were accomplished by the help of some uncanny trick, and that is why, as he says, Damis was not astounded at these things, nor filled with wonder by them. Naturally, then he now for the first time experienced these feelings, because he felt that his master had accomplished

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τὰ συνήθη διαπεπραγμένου. πρὸς τὸ δειχθὲν δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ φάσμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἀναχώρησιν, τὰς πρὸς Δομετιανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου φωνὰς παραθείμην ἄν' δεσμοῖς γάρ τοι αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι προστάξαντος βασιλέως, πάννυ γε ἀκολούθως ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος συνελογίσαστο ὡδί πως· “εἰ μὲν γόητά με ἤγῃ, πῶς δήσεις; εἰ δὲ δήσεις, πῶς γόητα εἶναι φήσεις;” ἀντικρούσει γοῦν αὐτῷ τις ὡδί πως ἐκ τούτων ὀρμώμενος· εἰ μὲν οὐ γόης, πῶς λέλυται σου τὸ σκέλος; εἰ δὲ λέλυται, πῶς οὐ γόης; καὶ εἰ τῷ ὑπομεῖναι τὸν δεσμὸν οὐ γόης, τῷ μὴ ὑπομεῖναι καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ὁμολόγηται γόης. καὶ αὖ πάλιν, εἰ ὑπομείνας τὸ δικαστήριον οὐ γόης, τῷ δὲ διαδρᾶναι τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν βασιλέα, λέγω καὶ τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ δορυφόρους, σαφῶς ἀναπέφανται γόης. ὃ δὴ μοι δοκῶ, συνησθημένος ὁ λόγος θεραπεύει τὸ γεγονός, ὥς δὴ ἄνευ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐπωδῶν ἀρρήτινι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον δυνάμει τοῦ παραδόξου πεφηνότος.

XXXVI

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Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν αὖθις ὁ τῆς φύσεως παραστήσεται ἔλεγχος· αὐτίκα γάρ τινος ἐπιστάντος αὐτῷ καὶ φήσαντος, “ἀφήσί σε, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, τουτωνὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς κα

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something which was quite unusual and contrary to his habitual performances. In reference however to the phantom chains shown to Damis and to his departure from the law-courts, I will quote the words which Apollonius himself addresses to Domitian. For when the monarch ordered him to be thrown into chains, Apollonius, with perfect consistency, argued as follows: "If you think me a wizard, how will you bind me? And if you bind me, how can you say that I am a wizard." Surely one may invert this argument and use it against him somewhat as follows, keeping to his own premisses: If you are not a wizard, then how was your leg liberated from the chains? and if it was liberated, then how are you not a wizard? And if, because he submits to the chains, he is not a wizard, then if he does not submit to them, he is a wizard by his own admission. And again if, because he submitted to be brought to trial, he was not a wizard, he was yet clearly revealed as such when he ran off and eluded the court and retinue of the Emperor, I mean of course the bodyguard that stood round him. Now I believe that our author is aware of this, and endeavours to gloze over the fact, when he pretends that this miracle was exhibited without sacrifice or any sort of incantation by some ineffable and superhuman power.

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MOREOVER we have not got to go far, before a fresh test of his character is supplied to us; for presently a messenger presents himself and says: "O Apollonius, the Emperor releases you from these chains, and permits you to reside in the jail where

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

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ἐλευθέριον δεσμωτήριον συγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν," ὁ κρείττων ἢ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τῶν μελλόντων προγνώστης, κωφοῦ τε ξυνιεῖς καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούων, ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν, ὥς εἰκός, περιχαρείας ἀποπεσὼν τῆς προγνώσεως πυνθάνεται, λέγων, "τίς οὖν ὁ μετασκευάσων με ἐντεῦθεν;" ὁ δέ, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἔπου."

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Εἶτα καὶ λόγον ἀπολογίας ὁ θειότατος μάλα γε πεφροντισμένως συντάττει, ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι δῆτα εἰς μάτην αὐτῷ σπουδασθήσεται ἡ γραφή. οἶεται μὲν γὰρ ἀκούσεσθαι αὐτοῦ ἀπολογουμένου βασιλέα, καὶ ὥς ἀκουσομένου γε σφόδρα πιθανῶς παρασκευάζεται τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὴ ἀναμείνας εἰς οὐ δέον αὐτοῦ τὴν σπουδὴν κατεστήσατο. ἄκουε δὴ οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων, οἷά φησιν ὁ ἔλεγχος· "ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος αὐτῷ συνεγράφη τις ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀφήσονται, ξυνεῖλε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος ἐς ἃς εἴρηκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος." ὅρα δὴ, πῶς τοῦ μέλλοντος πορρωτάτω τυγχάνων ὁ πάντα θειότατος, μετὰ πλείστης ὀσης φροντίδος ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ποιησόμενος ἐσπούδαζεν.

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prisoners are not bound" ; whereupon Apollonius, CHAP. XXXVI
who is superior to mankind and has foreknowledge
of what is coming, and according to the poet

"Hath understanding of the dumb and heareth him
who speaks not"

is so overjoyed, as well he might be, at the news,
that he suddenly drops out of his gift of foreknow-
ledge, and asks outright : "Who then will get me
out of this place ?" and the messenger replied : "I
myself, so follow me."

XXXVII

NEXT this most divine of men composes in the CHAP. XXXVII
most careful of manners an harangue in defence of
himself, quite unaware that after all his composition
would prove a mere waste of effort. For he
imagines that the Emperor will listen to his defence
of his case, and on that assumption he arranges his
apology along extremely plausible lines ; but the
latter by refusing to wait, renders all his trouble
useless and unnecessary. I would ask you then to
listen to the following, for what he says is a
refutation of himself : "But inasmuch as he had
composed an oration which he meant to deliver in
defence of himself by the clock, only the tyrant
confined him to the questions which I have enumer-
ated, I have determined to publish this oration also."
Note then how utterly at fault this entirely divinest
of beings was about the future, if he took so much
trouble and care to proportion the length of his
apology to the time allowed him by the water-
clock.

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Ἄλλα γὰρ διεξιτητέον καὶ τὴν εἰς μίτην αὐτὴν πεποιημένην ἀπολογίαν, ἃ, ὥς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ταύτῃ, Δομετιανῷ προσφωνῶν ἀπαυθαδίζετα λέγων, ὥς ἄρα Οὐεσπασιανὸς “σὲ μὲν βασιλέα ἐποίησεν, ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο.” βαβαὶ τῆς ἁλαζονείας, ἣν οὔτι γε ὁ τυχών, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ εἰ φιλόσοφος τις ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ὑπεραίρω ἐγγέγονει φύσιν, ἑτερατεύσατο ἂν μὴ οὐχὶ δίκῃ ἀνοίας παρὰ τοῖς ἑμφροσιν ὑποσχών. εἶτα δὲ τῇ κατ’ αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ἑαυτὸν ἀπολυόμενος ταῦτ’ ἀποκρίσας περὶ γοήτων φησὶν. “ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδοσόφους φημί, τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄπιστα εἶναι.” καταμάθοι δ’ οὖν ταῦτ’ ἕκ τε τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας καὶ τῶν ἐν μέρῳ δεδηλωμένων, πότῃ ἐν θείοις καὶ φιλοσόφοις ἐν γόησιν αὐτὸν κατατακτέον, ἐπιστήσας οἷς τὸ αὐτὸς περὶ γοήτων καὶ ψευδοσόφων εἴρηκε καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίσας. δεδήλωκεν ἢ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἱστορία· δρῦες τε γὰρ καὶ πετελέαι ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θήλει φωνῇ λαλοῦσαι, καὶ τρίποδες αὐτόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ χάλκεοι θεράποντες διακονούμενοι, πίθοι τε ὄμβρων καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ σανδαράκινον ὕδωρ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα εἰσῆκται, παρ’ οἷς ἡγείτο θεοῖς, οὓς καὶ οὐκ ὥκνησαν διδασκάλους ἐπιγράφεσθαι, τίνος ἂν εἶεν παραστατικὰ ἢ τῶν “τὰ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα

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BUT we must not omit to pass in review the defence which he so vainly composed, for it contains among many examples of the arrogance with which he addressed Domitian, the following utterance, to wit, when he says "as Vespasian made you Emperor, so I made him." Heavens, what braggadocio! No ordinary person anyhow, nor any real philosopher either, transcending the rest of mankind, could indulge in such high-faluting bombast without exposing himself in the eyes of sensible men to a charge of being mad. Next in trying to rid himself of the suspicion which weighed upon him, he holds the following language concerning magicians and wizards; "But I call wizards men of false wisdom, for with them the unreal is made real, and the real becomes incredible." One may learn then from the whole treatise and from the particular episodes set forth therein, whether we ought to rank him among divine and philosophic men or among wizards. We have only to observe what he himself has said about wizards and falsely wise men together with what is published in his own history. For when oak trees and elms talk in articulate and feminine tones, and tripods move of their own accord, and waiters of copper serve at table, and jars are filled with showers and with winds, and water of sandarac and all the other things of the kind are introduced among those whom he accounted gods and also did not hesitate to entitle his teachers, of whom else are all these things characteristic, except of people who can exhibit "the unreal as real and the real as

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ἄπιστα εἶναι” παραδεικνύντων; οὓς αὐτὸς γόητας ὀνομάζων, ψευδοσόφους ὑπάρχειν ἀποφαίνεται. ἦτοι οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεῖος καὶ ἐνάρετος καὶ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένος τὸ σοφίας ἀναδησάμενος βραβεῖον, αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν, ὅσοι μετ’ ἐκείνων, θειότερος ἀληθῶς καὶ μακρῶ εὐδαιμονέστερος ἂν κριθείη, ἢ ἔμπαλιν ψευδοσοφίας ἁλὺν κακοδαιμόνων ἀποίσεται τὰ πρωτεῖα.

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Πάλιν δ’ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ περὶ Μοιρῶν ἰσχυρὸς φιλοσοφῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ φησί, διδάσκοντα οὕτως ἄτρεπτα εἶναι, ἃ κλώθουσιν, ὥς εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαιντο ἐτέρῳ ἤδη ὑπάρχουσαν οὐδ’ ἂν ἀποκτείνειέ τις τοῦτον, ὥς μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη ποτὲ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, καὶ ἂν ἀναβιώῃ ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς Μοίραις. καὶ τούτου ἐπιλέγει αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς· “ὅτῳ πέπρωται γενέσθαι τεκτονικῶ, οὗτος, καὶ ἀποκοπῇ τὸ χεῖρε τεκτονικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτῳ νίκη ἐν Ὀλυμπίῳ δρόμῳ ἄρασθαι, οὗτος δ’, οὐδ’ εἰ πηρωθείη τὸ σκέλος, ἁμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτῳ ἔνευσα Μοῖραι τὸ ἐν τοξικῇ κράτος, οὗτος οὐδ’ εἰ ἀποβάλοι τὰς ὄψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ εὐσκόπου.” τούτοις τὸ ἄρχοντα κολακεύων ἐπιφέρει λέγων, “τὰ δὲ τῷ

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incredible"? In himself calling the latter wizards, he shows that they are people whose wisdom is false. Is it then on the strength of these things that this divine man, endowed with all virtue and the darling of the gods, is to bind on his brow the prize of wisdom, and to be accounted truly more divine than Pythagoras and his successors, and to be considered far more blessed than he; is he not rather to be found guilty of false wisdom and carry off the first prize for wretches?

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IN the same book we are told that he had reasoned in Ionia about the power of the Fates, and had taught that the threads they spin are so immutable that, if they decree a kingdom to another which already belongs to some one, then, even if that other were slain by the possessor for fear lest he should ever have it taken away by him, the latter would yet be raised from the dead and live again in fulfilment of the decrees of the Fates; and he continues in these very words: "He who is destined to become a carpenter, will become one, even though his hands have been cut off; and he who has been predestined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games, will never fail to win, even though he break his leg; and the man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer, will not miss the mark, even though he lose his eyesight." And then by way of flattering the sovereign he adds the following: "And in drawing

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The discourse
about the
Fates in
Ionia

βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δῆπου ὁρῶν
 καὶ τοὺς Λαῖους Ἀστυάγην τε τὸν Μῆδον καὶ
 πολλοὺς ἑτέρους εὖ τίθεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα δόξαντας
 ὧν οἱ μὲν παῖδας, οἱ δὲ ἐγγόνους ἀποκτείνειν
 οἰηθέντες, ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν,
 ἀναφύντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ξὺν τῷ πεπρω-
 μένῳ· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡγάπων κολακευτικήν, εἶπον ἂν
 καὶ τάδε ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείληψο μὲν ὑπὸ
 Βιτελλίου, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ
 τὰς ὀφρῦς τοῦ ἄστεος, ὁ δ' εὖ κείσεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
 ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοις αὐτόν—καίτοι μειράκιον
 ἱκανῶς ἦσθα, καὶ οὐπω οὗτος—ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπεὶ
 Μοίραις ἐδόκει ἕτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπώλετο αὐταῖς
 βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τὰ ἐκείνου νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ἁρμονία κολακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τῶν
 ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγων εἶναι, τετμήσθω
 μοι ἥδε ἡ νευρὰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυμ-
 ῆσθαί με.” διὰ τούτων δὲ ὁμοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα κόλακα
 καὶ ψεύστην καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόσοφον
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίστησι λόγος; τοσαῦτα
 γὰρ πρότερον εἰπὼν κατὰ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ κολά-
 κεύει νῦν ὁ γεννάδας, καὶ καθυποκρίνεται ὥς οὐδέ-
 τι κατ' αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ
 Μοιρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ κεκινημένων

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my examples from royalty, I had reference, I admit, to the Acrisii and to the house of Læius, and to Astyages, the Mede, and to many other monarchs who thought that their power was well established, and of whom some were supposed to have slain their own children and others their descendants, yet were deprived by them of their thrones, when they grew up and issued forth against them out of obscurity in accordance with destiny. Well, if I were inclined to flattery I should have said that I had your own history in my mind, when you were blockaded by Vitellius, and the temple of Jupiter was burnt on the brow of the hill overlooking the city. And Vitellius declared that his own fortune was assured, so long as you did not escape him, although you were at the time quite a stripling, and not the man you are now. And yet because the Fates had decreed otherwise, he perished with all his counsels, while you are now in possession of his throne. However, since I abhor the forced concords of flattery, for it seems to me that they are everything that is out of time and out of tune, let me at once cut this string out of my lyre, and request you to consider that on that occasion I had not your fortunes in my mind." In this passage, a treatise written ostensibly in the interest of truth draws a picture of a man who was at once a flatterer and a liar, and anything rather than a philosopher; for after inveighing so bitterly on the earlier occasion against Domitian, he now flatters him, generous fellow that he is, and pretends that the doctrines he mooted in Ionia about the Fates and Necessity, so far from being directed against him rather told in his favour.

Ἀνάλαβε δῆτα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὦ συγγραφεὺ, καὶ τῆς μέθης διανήψας τὰ πρότερόν σοι γραφέντα λαμπρᾷ καὶ φιλαλήθει διέλθε τῇ φωνῇ, μηδὲ ὑποστειλάμενος, ὥς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβων “ἀφ’ ἱστη Δομετιανοῦ τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐρρώννυε σωτηρίας, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίου ὀμιλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς ᾤετο, τῶν δὲ ἐταίρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπολαμβάνων, “διάκονον,” ἔλεγε, “ποιοῦμαί σε ἀπορρήτο λαμπροῦ, βαδίσαι δέ σε χρὴ ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ τὸ δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναί οἱ,” καὶ ὡς “διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸ λόγον διήει, ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ τύραννοι τὰ Μοιρῶν οἶον βιάζεσθαι,” καὶ ὡς “χαλκῆς εἰκόνας ἰδρυμένη Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλῃτι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, “ἀνόητε,” εἶπεν, “ὥς πολὺ διαμαρτάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· ᾧ γὰρ μετὰ στυραννεῦσαι πέπρωται, τοῦτον καὶ εἰ ἀποκτείνεις, ἀναβιώσεται.” ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοὺς τοιουτοῦ λόγους κολακεύων τὸν τύραννον, καὶ μηδὲν τούτων ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρῆσθαι αὐτῷ κατειρμένον, πῶς οὐ μοχθηρίας ἀπάσης ἂν καὶ ἀνελευθερίας κριθείη, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ψευδηγόρου τινὰς καὶ κατηγόρους τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀληθείης συγγραφέας θείη τις τοὺς ταῦτα μνήμη παραδεδοκότας; καὶ ποῦ τοῦ Φιλαλήθους “οἱ παιδεύσεω μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἤκοντες, τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς τιμῶντες

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Take then your history, my author, and regaining your sobriety after your fit of drunkenness, read out loud and in a truth-loving tone the passages you wrote on a former occasion, without concealing anything; read how when he was staying in Ephesus he did his best "to alienate his friends from Domitian, and encouraged them to espouse the cause of the safety of all, and as it occurred to him that intercourse with them by letter was dangerous to them, he would take now one and now another of the most discreet of his own companions aside and say to them: 'I have a most important secret business to entrust to yourselves, so you must betake yourself to Rome to such and such persons, and converse with them!'" And of how "he delivered a discourse on the subject of the Fates and Necessity, and argued that not even tyrants can overpower the decrees of the Fates." And how "directing the attention of his audience to a brazen statue of Domitian which stood close by that of the Meles, he said: 'Thou fool, how much art thou mistaken in thy views of Necessity and of the Fates. For even if thou shouldst slay the man who is fated to be despot after thyself, he shall come to life again.'" The man then who, after holding such language as this, proceeds to flatter the tyrant, and cynically pretends that none of this language was directed against him, how can we judge him other than capable of all villainy and meanness; unless indeed you assume that the authors who have handed down to us these details of him were lying fellows who meant to accuse their hero and not true historians? But in that case what becomes, to use the language of the Lover of Truth, of those who "were historians

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συγγραφεῖς, Δάμις τε ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ καὶ συνδιατρίψας τῷ δηλουμένῳ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἀφ' ὧν ταῦτα παρατίθεται, οὕς σαφῶς οὕτως ἐναντιολογοῦντας, κομπάζοντάς τε ἀληθῶς, καὶ τοῖς μαχομένοις παρισταμένους ψεύστας ἐναργῶς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ γόητας, τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ φέγγος διήλεγξεν;

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Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπαλλαγέντα τοῦ δικαστηρίου, ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ ἱστορεῖ βουλόμενον εἰς Τροφωνίου κατελθεῖν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, γόητα καὶ τούτων ἡγουμένων αὐτόν· καίτοι ἄξιον ἀπορῆσαι παραθέμενον τὰς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Φιλοστράτου λέξεις, ἐν αἷς ἀπορῶν ὅτι δὴ γόητα αὐτὸν ὑπειλήφασιν, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα θαυμάζει, λέγων “Ἐμπεδοκλέα μὲν καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον τοῖς αὐτοῖς μάγοις ὠμιληκότας οὐπω ὑπῆχθαι τέχνη, Πλάτωνά τε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱερέων τε καὶ προφητῶν πολλὰ παρειληφόντα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναμύξαντα λόγοις, οὐδαμῶς δόξαι τισὶ μαγεύειν, τουτοῦ δὲ οὐπω γινώσκεσθαι παρ' ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ὁρμῶτο σοφίας, μάγον δὲ αὐτὸ πάλαι τε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν νενομίσθαι, τῷ μάγοι

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at once most highly educated and respectful of the truth, namely Damis the philosopher who even lived with the man in question and Philostratus the Athenian?" For these are the authors who lay these facts before us, and they are clearly convicted by the light of truth, since they thus contradict themselves, of being vapouring braggarts and nothing else, convicted by their inconsistencies of being downright liars, men devoid of education and charlatans.

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XL

THE story proceeds to tell us that after all this, Apollonius, liberated from the court, made up his mind to descend into the cave of Trophonius in Lebadea; but the people there would not allow him to do so, because they too regarded him as a wizard. Surely it is legitimate in us to be puzzled, when one compares what one reads at the beginning of the book of Philostratus, I mean the passage where he owns that he is puzzled at people having regarded his hero as a wizard, and expresses his surprise at the circumstance, remarking withal, that "although Empedocles and Pythagoras and Democritus had consorted with the same Magi without ever stooping to the magic art, and Plato had derived much from the priests and prophets in Egypt, and had mingled their ideas with his own discourses, without ever being held by anyone to be a magician, yet men so far had failed to recognise his hero as one inspired by the purest wisdom, but had long since accounted him a magician and still did so, because he had

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Apollonius
refused at
Lebadea

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XL

Βαβυλωνίων Ἰνδῶν τε Βραχμᾶσι καὶ τοῦ
 Αἰγυπτίων Γυμνοῖς ὠμίληκέναι.” τί δῆτα οὐ
 εἰρήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν; ὦ οὗτος, τῷδε τῷ ἄνδρ
 τί τοιοῦτο ἐπεχειρεῖτο, ὥς μόνον γόητα πάλα
 τε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν νενομίσθαι παρὰ τοὺς τηλικού
 τους ἄνδρας, οἱ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῷ, ὥς φῆς, διδα
 σκάλων πεπειραμένοι, διέπρεψαν μὲν καὶ καθ
 οὓς ἐγνωρίζοντο χρόνους, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετέπειτα
 δὲ τῆς σφῶν φιλοσοφίας ἀοίδιμον καταλελοίπασ
 τὴν ἀρετὴν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα πέρα τῶν προσηκόντων
 ἐγχειρῶν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι φανερός καθεισθήκει
 αὐτίκα τῶν νῦν εἰσιν, οἱ περιέργους μηχανὰς τ
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀνακειμένας προσηγορίᾳ κατειληφέναι
 λέγουσιν. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔμοιγε τούτοις φίλον προσ
 ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆ
 τῶνδρὸς ἀκόλουθα τοῖς προτέροις συντάττων, οὐδὲ
 ἀληθὲς ἐξέφηεν εἰδέναι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῃ
 τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Λίνδῳ
 παρελθόντα ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄλλους δὲ
 ἐν Κρήτῃ, καὶ τοσαύτην ἄγνοιαν τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸ
 τέλους κατασκεδάσας βούλεται αὐτὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν
 αὐτῷ σώματι χωρῆσαι. ἐσδραμόντος γὰρ ἐς ἱερὸν
 φησι κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας καὶ τινὰ ῥῶδον
 ἀδόκητον παρθένων ἐκπесεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἄσμα εἶναι
 “στεῖχε, στεῖχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στεῖχε.” λέγει δέ, ὡς
 μήτε τάφῳ μήτε κenoταφίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πω περιτε
 χοι, καίτοι τῆς γῆς, ὁπόση ἐστίν, φήσας ἐπελθεῖν
 πλείστην, καὶ βούλεται αὐτῷ ἢ διάνοιᾳ μὴ
 ὅλως θανάτου τὸν ἄνδρα θιγεῖν, πρότερον μὲν γὰρ

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consorted with the Magi of Babylon and the Brah-^{CHAP.}
mans of India, and the Naked sages of Egypt.”^{XL}
What answer then can we make to him, except this?—
My good fellow, what was your hero up to in this
line, for him alone to have been regarded both long
ago and now as a wizard in contrast with these great
men; who though, as you admit, they had made
trial of the same teachers as he, yet were
eminent both in the age in which they flourished,
and also bequeathed to posterity in their philosophy
a gift of such excellence that its praises are still sung.
Is such a contrast possible, unless he was caught by
men of good sense meddling with things that were
unlawful? There are still among our contemporaries
those who say that they have found superstitious
devices dedicated in the name of this man; though
I admit I have no wish to pay attention to them.
However as regards his death, although Philostratus ^{Death of}
follows in his book the accounts of earlier writers, ^{Apollonius}
he declares that he knows nothing of the truth; for he
says that people in Ephesus related that Apollonius
died there, while others said that he died in Lindus
after entering the temple of Athene, and others in
Crete; and after shedding so much doubt on the
manner of his end, he yet inclines to believe that
he went to heaven body and all. For he says that
after he had run into the temple, the gates were
closed and a strange hymn of maidens was heard to
issue from the building, and the words of their song
were: “Come, come, to heaven, come.” But he
says that he had never come across any sepulchre or
cenotaph of his hero, although he had visited the
greater part of the whole earth; but what he would
like us to believe is that his hero never encountered

CAP.
 XLI. ἀμφιβάλλων περὶ τοῦ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν ἐτελεύτα
 φησὶν “ εἶγε ἐτελεύτα,” ὕστερον δὲ διαρρήδην κα
 εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν χωρῆσαι φάσκει. ὅθεν ὡς δ
 τοιοῦτον ὄντα, καὶ κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῇ
 γραφῆς καὶ καθ' ὅλην τὴν γραφὴν, Πυθαγόρου κα
 Ἐμπεδοκλέους θειότερόν φησι προσεληλυθέντα
 φιλοσοφίᾳ.

XLI

CAP.
 XLI. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιγραφόμενου το
 λόγου, βραχέ' ἅττα περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ εἰμαρμένη
 φέρε διαλάβωμεν, ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο δι' ὅλης αὐτ
 τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὁ λόγος, τὸ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀναιρῶν
 ἀνάγκην δὲ εἰσάγων καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ Μοίρα
 διαθρούντες, ταύτη γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐντελῶς καὶ ἡ
 δόγμασι ψευδοδοξία τάνδρὸς διευθυνθήσεται
 εἰ δὴ οὖν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας λόγον
 ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος, τὸ γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἀθάνατο
 τὸ δ' ἄλλο κινεῖν καὶ ὑφ' ἐτέρου κινούμενον
 παῦλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἔχει ζωῆς, κα
 αἰτία ἐλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος, τίς αἰρεῖ λόγον
 ἄκουσαν, οὐχὶ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀψύχου δίκης
 σώματος ἔξωθέν ποθεν κινουμένην, καὶ ὥσπερ
 νευροσπαστουμένην ὧδε κἀκεῖσε, τὴν ἀεικίνητην

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

death at all, for on a former occasion when he is CHAP. XL canvassing the manner in which he died, he adds the proviso : “ If he did die.” But in a later passage he declares in so many words that he went to heaven. This is why he avows, no less in the exordium of his book than throughout it, that it was by reason of his being such as he was that he wooed philosophy in a diviner manner than Pythagoras and Empedocles.

XLI

ALTHOUGH then the limits of our discourse are CHAP. XLI reached in the above, I would yet, if you will allow me, raise a few points in connexion with the Fates and with destiny, in order to ascertain what aim his work has in view, when throughout its argument it sets itself to demolish our responsibility, and to substitute for it necessity, and destiny and the Fates. For in this way we shall finally and completely refute the tenets professed by the author and prove their falsity. If then, according to the views of true philosophy, every soul is immortal, for that which is perpetually moving is immortal, whereas that which moves another, and is itself moved by others, in admitting a cessation of its own movement, admits a cessation of life ; and if responsibility depends on personal choice, and God is not responsible, then what reason is there for concluding that the nature, which is ever in movement, is actuated against its will, and not rather in accordance with its own choice and decision ; for otherwise it would resemble a lifeless body in being moved by some outside agency, and would be as it were a puppet pulled by strings hither

Condemns Apollonius' doctrine of Fate as destructive of responsibility

CAP.
XLI

ἄγεσθαι φύσιν μηδὲν μηδαμῶς ἐξ ἰδίας ὁρμῆς καὶ
 κινήσεως ἐνεργούσαν, μηδὲ εἰς ἑαυτὴν τὴν τῶν
 δρωμένων ἀναφέρουσαν αἰτίαν· ταύτη τε μήτ' αὐτὴ
 φιλοσοφοῦσαν ἐπαινετέαν τυγχάνειν, μήτ' αὐτὴ
 ψεκτὴν, κακίας ἔμπλεων καὶ πονηρίας; τί δὴ ταῦτα
 οὖν Εὐφράτῃ λαιδορούμενος καταμέμφῃ, ὦ τῶν, ἐμὴ
 μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ εἰμαρμένης ἐπὶ τὸ κέρδος
 ἐκδούς, ὥς αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖς, ὠλιγώρει φιλοσοφίας; τὴν
 δὲ καὶ γόησιν ἐνυβρίζεις, ψευδοσόφους ἀποκαλῶν
 ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν, ὥς ἡγῇ, καθελκομένους ἐπὶ τὸν
 κακοδαίμονα βίον; τί δὲ κακίαν ἀπλῶς ὀνομάζεις
 καὶ πονηρός τις ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ κρίνεται
 παρὰ σοί, τὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰμαρμένον ἀποπληρῶν
 ὄρον; καὶ ἔμπαλιν τίνι λόγῳ Πυθαγόραν σεμνολο-
 γῶν θαυμαστὸν ἐπιγράφη διδάσκαλον, καὶ Μοιρῶν
 παίγνιον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐραστὴν ὄντα φιλοσοφίας οὐ
 ἀπολείπεις ἐπαινῶν; Φραώτης δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχας οὐ
 Ἰνδῶν φιλόσοφοι, τί μᾶλλον παρὰ σοὶ θεῶν
 ἀπηνέγκαντο δόξαν, μηδὲν τι παιδείας ἴδιον μηδὲ
 ἀρετῆς ἀπενεγκάμενοι κλέος; Νέρωνος δ' ὡσαύτως
 καὶ Δομετιανοῦ τί οὐχὶ Μοίραις καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τὴν
 ἀκόλαστον περιάπτεις ἀγερωχίαν, πάσης αἰτίας
 καὶ παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἐλευθερῶν τοὺς ἀνδράς
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τῳ πέπρωται, ὥς φῆς, δρομικῶ καὶ
 τοξικῶ καὶ τεκτονικῶ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ εἰ γόητι τὸ
 τρόπον ὄντι μάγῳ ἀναφανῆναι μαιφόνῳ τε καὶ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

and thither. The nature which ever moves itself ^{CHAP}
would, on such an hypothesis, effect nothing of its ^{XLI}
own initiative and movement, nor could it refer to
itself the responsibility of its actions. In such a
case, when it reasoned of truth it would surely not be
worthy of praise; nor on the other hand be blame-
worthy, because it was filled with vice and wicked-
ness? Why then, I would ask you, my good fellow,
do you revile Euphrates and find fault with him, if
it is not of his own initiative, but by the force of
destiny, that he devoted himself to gain, as you
pretend, and neglected the philosophical ideal?
And why do you insult wizards, by calling them false
sophists, if they are dragged down by the Fates, as
you believe, to their miserable life? And why
do you keep in your vocabulary at all such a word as
vice, when any evil man is unjustly condemned by you,
since it is by necessity that he fulfils his destined term?
And again on what principle do you solemnly enroll
yourself a disciple of the wonderful teacher Pytha-
goras, and insist on praising one who, instead of being
a lover of philosophy, was a mere toy in the hands
of the Fates? And as for Phraotes and Iarchas, the
philosophers of the Indians, what have they done
to win from you the reputation of being gods,
unless the glory they acquired by their culture and
virtue was their own? And in the same way with
regard to Nero and Domitian, why do you not saddle
upon the Fates and on Necessity the responsibility for
their unbridled insolence, and acquit them of all
responsibility and blame? But if as you say a man
who is destined to be a runner, or an archer or a
carpenter, cannot avoid being so, surely also if it has
been destined that a man should be a wizard, and,

CAP.
XLI

πονηρῶ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ, πάντως που ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοιόσδε τις ἀποβήσεται. τί δῆτα οὖν περινοστώ τοῖς μὴ οἷοις τε τυχεῖν διορθώσεως ἀρετὴν προκηρύττεις; ἢ τί καταμέμφῃ τοῖς τὴν μοῖραν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀτοπωτάτοις; τί δὲ καί, εὐαὐτῷ σοι πέπρωτο θείῳ ὄντι τὴν φύσιν ὑπερᾶρα βασιλέων δόξης, εἰς διδασκάλων ἐφοίτας καὶ φιλοσόφων, Ἀραβίους τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίων μάγον καὶ σοφοὺς Ἰνδῶν ἐπολυπραγμόνεις; πάντως γάρ που, καὶ τῆς τούτων δίχα κοινωνίας, τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν ἐτελεῖτό σοι.

Τί δὲ καὶ οἷς νομίζεις θεοῖς τὰ μελιττοῦτα καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν εἰς μάτην ῥιπτεῖς, εὐσέβειάν τε ἐπιμορφαζόμενος ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἐταίρους παρορμᾶς; αὐτός τε εὐχόμενος τί παρὰ θεῶν αἰτεῖς, ὅποτε καὶ τούτων ὁμολογεῖς τὴν εἰμαρμένην κρατεῖν; καὶ μὴν ἔδει τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς παραμειψάμενον, Ἀνάγκη μόνον καὶ Μοῖραν θύειν, καὶ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὴν εἰμαρμένην προτιμᾶν. οὕτω δ' ἂν σοι θεοὶ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἀνέστησαν, καὶ εἰκότως, ἅτε μηδὲ ἀνθρώπους οἰοίτο ὠφελεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ πέπρωτο τοὺς Ἐφεσίου ἀλῶναι λοιμῶ πολίτας, τί τὰναντία νομοθετῶν παρακρούῃ τὴν εἰμαρμένην; μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς ὑπερῆρας τὴν Μοῖραν, τρόπαιον ὥσπερ κατ' αὐτῆς ἀράμενος; εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κλωθοῦς ἐπὶ τῇ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

that being his character, a magician or a murderer and a wicked man and a reprobate, come what will, he must of necessity end by being such a person. Why then do you go wandering about, preaching the virtues to those who are incapable of reform? Why do you blame those who are the monsters they are, not of their own choice, but by predestination? And why too, if it was decreed by fate that you yourself being of a divine nature should transcend the glory of kings, did you visit schools of teachers and philosophers, and trouble yourself about Arabians and about the Magi of Babylon, and the wise men of India? For in any case surely, even without your holding communications with them, the decrees of the Fates were bound to be fulfilled in your case.

And why do you vainly cast before those whom you consider to be gods, your honey-cake and your frankincense, and putting on the cloak of religion encourage your companions to be diligent at their prayers? And what do you yourself in your prayers ask of the gods, inasmuch as you admit that they too are subject to Destiny? Nay you ought to make a clean sweep of all the other gods, and sacrifice to Necessity alone and to the Fates, and pay your respects rather to Destiny than to Zeus himself. In that case no doubt you would have no gods left; and rightly too, seeing that they are not even able to help mankind. And again, if it were decreed by fate that the citizens of Ephesus should be afflicted with pestilence, why did you sanction the opposite and so try to thwart destiny? Nay, why did you dare to transcend destiny, and as it were raise a trophy over her? And again in the case of the maiden raised to life, the thread of Clotho had reached its

CHAP.
XLI

CAP.
XLI

κόρη τὸ νῆμα πέρας εἰλήχει, πόθεν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς
μετὰ θάνατον ἀναδησάμενος τῷ μίτῳ τὸν ἄτρακτον,
ζωοποιὸς αὐτῇ παραπέφηνας;

Ἄλλ' ἴσως Μοῖραι καὶ σὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτ'
ἤγον. οὔτι πω φήσεις κατ' ἀξίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ
δεῖ, ὃς πρὸ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα παρόδου τῶν
ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ κύμασι διατριβόντων γεγοιμένα
σεαυτὸν λέγεις, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὥς εἰκὸς καὶ
τοῦτο. οὔκουν θαυμάσιος οὔτε τῆς πρώτης γε-
νέσεως καὶ τροφῆς, οὔτε τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας,
οὔτε τῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ σῶφρονος ἀγωγῆς, οὔτ' ἀσκή-
σεως τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, ἣν δ' ἄρα τις Μοιρῶν
ἀνάγκη καὶ εἰς Βαβυλωνίους ἐλαύνουσα, ὠθοῦ-
μενος δ' ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς Ἰνδῶν ὠμίλεις σοφοῖς
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Γυμνοὺς οὐχ ἰ-
προαίρεσις, οὔδ' ὁ φιλοσοφίας πόθος, Μοῖρα δὲ
ἤγεν ἄγχουσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδεια καὶ τὰς Ἑρα-
κλείους στήλας, ἑῶν τε καὶ ἐσπέριον Ὀκεανὸν
ἀλᾶσθαι καὶ αὐταῖς ἀτράκτοις εἰς μάτην ἐξε-
βιάζετο περιστρέφεσθαι. εἰ δὲ δὴ μετεληφε-
ναι τι σοφίας αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτων εἴποι τις, Μοῖρα
καὶ τούτων αἰτία, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἂν ἐν φιλομαθέσιν
ἀνὴρ καταλεχθείη, οὔδ' ἂν εὐλόγως θαυμασθείη
τῆς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀνάγκην αὐτῆς
πορισθείσης φιλοσοφίας. ἐν ἴσῳ δ' ἂν συγκρινό-
μενος εἴη κατ' αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς καὶ τ

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

limit, and that being so why did you, when she was dead, bind a fresh thread on the spindle, by coming forward yourself in the rôle of the saviour of her life? CHAP.
XLI

But perhaps you will say the Fates drove you also on to these courses. Yet you cannot say that they did so out of respect to your merits; far from it, seeing that before you passed into this body of yours, you were yourself, by your own account, a sea-faring man who spent his life upon the waves, and that of necessity, for even this could not have been otherwise. There is therefore nothing remarkable about your earliest birth, or your upbringing, or your education in the circle of arts, or in your wise self-discipline in the prime of your life, or of your training in philosophy; for it was after all some necessity of the Fates that led you to Babylon, and you were as it were driven on to associate with the sages of India; and it was not your own will and choice, nor a love of philosophy either, but Fate that led you in her noose to the Naked sages of the Egyptians, and to Gadeira and to the pillars of Hercules; and it was she who forced you to wander about the eastern and western oceans, and along with her spindles whirled you idly around. But if anyone admits, as they must, that his endowment with wisdom was due to these causes, then it was destiny that was responsible for them; and we must no longer reckon your hero among those who are fond of learning, nor can we with any pretence of reason admire a philosophy which was provided, not intentionally, but by necessity, for him. And we shall have to class on one and the same level, according to him, Pythagoras himself with any pretentious and abject slave, and

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XLII. τερατῶδες καὶ ἀπερριμμένον ἀνδράποδον, Σωκρά-
της αὐτὸς φιλοσοφίας ὑπεραποθνήσκων καὶ οὐ
τοῦτον θανάτου ἄξιον γραψάμενοι, Διογένης τε
καὶ τὰ Ἀθηναίων μειράκια, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν
ὁ σοφώτατος οὐκ ἂν διαφέρει τοῦ ἀφρονεστά-
του, καὶ ὁ ἀδικώτατος τοῦ δικαιοτάτου, ὁ τε
ἀκολαστότατος τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου, καὶ ὁ
δειλότερος τοῦ ἀνδρειοτάτου, εἰμαρμένης καὶ
Μοιρῶν παιγνίων τούτων ἀπάντων ἀποδεδειγμέ-
νων.

XLII

CAP. XLII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς ἀληθείας οὐ
κῆρυξ ἀναβοήσεται λέγων· ὦ ἄνθρωποι, θνητὸν
καὶ ἐπὶ κηρον γένος, ποῖ δὴ φέρεσθε τὸν τῆς
ἀγνωσίας ἄκρατον ἐμπιόντες; λήξατε ποτὲ καὶ
διανήψατε τῆς μέθης, καὶ διανοίας ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασι
τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνοπτρίσασθε πρόσωπον
οὐ θέμις ἀλήθειαν πολεμεῖν ἑαυτῇ καὶ μάχεσθαι
οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐναντιωτάτοις μίαν ὑφεστάναι καὶ
τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας ταῦτα
πάντα κρατούσης θείοις νόμοις διατέτακται τῇ
πᾶν, ἀνθρώπων τε ψυχῆς ὅρος αὐτοκράτορά τε
καὶ κριτήν, ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ
καθίστησι, φυσικοῖς νόμοις καὶ φιλοσόφων δόγμα-
σιν ἐκδιδάσκων, ὥς ἄρα τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέ-
γιστα ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν
μὲν, ὅσα γένοιτ' ἂν κατὰ προαίρεσιν τε καὶ πρᾶξιν
ἃ καὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἀκώλυτα ἀπαρεμπόδιστα

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

Socrates himself, who died in behalf of philosophy with those who accused him and clamoured for his death, Diogenes, too, with the golden youth of Athens; and, to sum up, the wisest man will not differ from the most imprudent, nor the unjustest from the justest, nor the most abandoned from the most temperate, nor the worst of cowards from the greatest of heroes; for they have all been demonstrated to be playthings of destiny and of the Fates.

CHAP.
XLII

XLII

HOWEVER, the herald of truth will raise his voice against such arguments, and say: O ye men, mortal and perishable race, whither are you drifting, after drinking the unmixed cup of ignorance? Be done with it at last, wake up and be sober; and, raising the eyes of your intelligence, gaze upon the august countenance of truth. It is not lawful for truth to be in conflict and contradiction with herself; nor that of two pronounced opposites there should exist but one and the same ground and cause. The universe is ordered by the divine laws of the providence of God that controls all things, and the peculiar nature of man's soul renders him master of himself and judge, ruler and lord of himself; and it teaches him through the laws of nature, and the tenets of philosophy, that of things which exist some are within our own control, but others not; and within our control is everything which comes into being in accordance with our will and choice and action, and these are naturally free, unhindered and unimpeded. But such

CHAP.
XLII

CAP.
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τυγχάνει· τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀσθενῇ δοῦλῳ
 κωλυτὰ ἀλλότρια, ἃ καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ
 ἔκτος, ἄψυχά τε ὄντα καὶ ἄλογα, καὶ πάντῃ τῇ
 ἰδίας τοῦ λογικοῦ ζώου φύσεως ἀλλοτρίαν τὴν
 ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τῶν δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερον
 ὁρμὴν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας ἕκαστος ἐν αὐτῷ
 κέκτηται προαιρέσει, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ὅλων δεσπό-
 ζον τε καὶ ἡγεμονοῦν εὐθέως περαίνει κατὰ
 φύσιν περιπορευόμενον, τῷ δ' αἰεὶ συνέπεται δίκαιον
 τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός, τῷ
 δ' ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ὁρμῶν οὐ Μοίρας, οὐδὲ εἰμαρ-
 μένης, οὐδ' ἀνάγκης αἰτία· αἰτία ἐλομένου, θεοῦ
 ἀναίτιος. εἰ δὲ θρασύνοιτό τις τῷ ἐφ' ἡμῖν
 ἀντιπολεμῶν, μὴ παρακαλυπτέσθω οὗτος· ἀθεο-
 τητα ἀναφανδὸν διεξαγορευέτω, μὴ πρόνοιαν, μὴ
 θεόν, μηδέ τι ἄλλο πλὴν Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης
 ὁμολογῶν, καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτοις γυμνῇ προσ-
 καταλεγέτω κεφαλῇ, μὴ σοφόν, μὴ ἄφρονα, μὴ
 δίκαιον, μὴ ἄδικον, μὴ ἐνάρετον, μὴ φαῦλον, μὴ
 γόητα, μὴ θεῖον ἐν ἀνθρώπων γίνεσθαι φύσει, μὴ
 φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι, μὴ παιδείαν, μηδ' ὅλως τέχνην
 τινά, μηδὲ ἐπιστήμην, μή τινα ἄλλον τὴν φύσιν
 ἀγαθὸν ἢ πονηρὸν ἀποκαλείτω, πάντα δὲ συλλήβ-
 δην ἀνάγκη καὶ Μοιρῶν ἀτράκτοις περιδιναίσθαι
 ἄθεος δῆτα καὶ δυσσεβὴς οὗτος ἐν εὐσεβῶν κα-
 ἐν φιλοσόφῳ ἀπογεγράφθω κριτηρίῳ. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ
 καλυπτόμενος ἕτερα, δοξάζειν ἐπιχειροῖ πρόνοια

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

things as are not in our control are weak and servile, restrained and alien to ourselves; for example, our bodily processes and external objects which are both lifeless and destitute of reason, and in their manner of existence wholly foreign to the proper nature of a reasonable living creature. As for things which are in our control, each one of us possesses in the will itself alternative impulses of virtue and vice; and while the principle which controls the universe and governs it executes its rounds in direct accordance with nature, it is at the same time always accompanied by a justice which punishes infractions of the divine law; but for the motives on which we act the responsibility lies not with destiny nor fate, nor with necessity. It lies with him who makes the choice, and God is not to be blamed. If therefore anyone is so foolhardy as to controvert the fact of our responsibility, let him be duly exposed; and let him openly proclaim that he is an atheist, seeing that he does not recognise either providence or God or anything else except the Fates and necessity. And let him bare-headed enumerate the consequences of these doctrines, let him cease to call anyone wise or foolish, just or unjust, virtuous or vicious, or charlatan; let him deny that anyone is divine in our humanity, that there is any philosophy, any education, in a word any art of any kind, or science, let him not call anyone else by nature good or evil, but admit that everything whatever is whirled round in an eddy of necessity by the spindles of the Fates. Let such a person then be registered as an atheist and impious man in the tribunal of the pious and of philosophers. And if anyone under the cloak of other opinions undertakes

CHAP.
XI. II

CAP.
XLII

καὶ θεούς, Μοῖραν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εἰμαρμένην τις ἀνακηρύττει, μαχομένοις καὶ ἐναντίον παριστάμενος δόγμασιν, ἐν ἄφροσι δίκῃ ἀνοίας παρασχὼν καταγεγράφθω. ταυτὶ μὲ οὖν ταύτῃ. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐν φιλοσόφων διατριβαῖς ἀξιοῖεν ἔτι καταλέγειν τινὲς τὸν ἄνδρα λελέξεται, ὥς ἄρα εἰ ὑποκαθήρειαν τῆς ἑξωθελύμης, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς γραφῆς ἐπεισοκυκλουμένης αὐτῷ σκευῆς, φθόνος πᾶς αὐτοῦ ἐκποδὼν ἂν εἴη· ὅρους δ' εἰ ἀληθείας προϊὼν τὸ ὑπὲρ φιλοσόφους ἐκθειάζειν αὐτὸν πειρῆτο, λάθῃ ἂν αὐτῷ γόητος ἀτεχνῶς διαβολὴν ἐπεντρίβων, ὥς ταυτὶ τὰ συγγράμματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναπεπλασμένα οὐδὲν πλὴν ἐλέγχου καὶ δεινῆς τάνδρᾳ διαβολῆς παρὰ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ περιέχειν.

THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

to entertain ideas of Providence and of the gods, yet in addition to these champions the cause of Destiny and Fate, so upholding conflicting and opposed opinions, let him be classed among the senseless and condemned to pay the penalty of his folly. This then is so. But if after this there still remain those who are disposed to register this man's name in the schools of philosophers, it shall be said that, even if they succeed in clearing him from the filth thrown by others, nay in disentangling him from the pinchbeck properties in which the author of this book has wheeled him in upon the stage, we shall raise no objection to their doing so. At the same time if anyone ventures to overpass the limits of truth and tries to deify him as no other philosopher has been deified, he will at the best, though unawares, be rubbing into him the accusation of wizardry ; for this work of pretentious sophistry can only serve, in my opinion, to convict him, and lay him open in the eyes of all men of sense to this terrible accusation.

CHAP.
XLII

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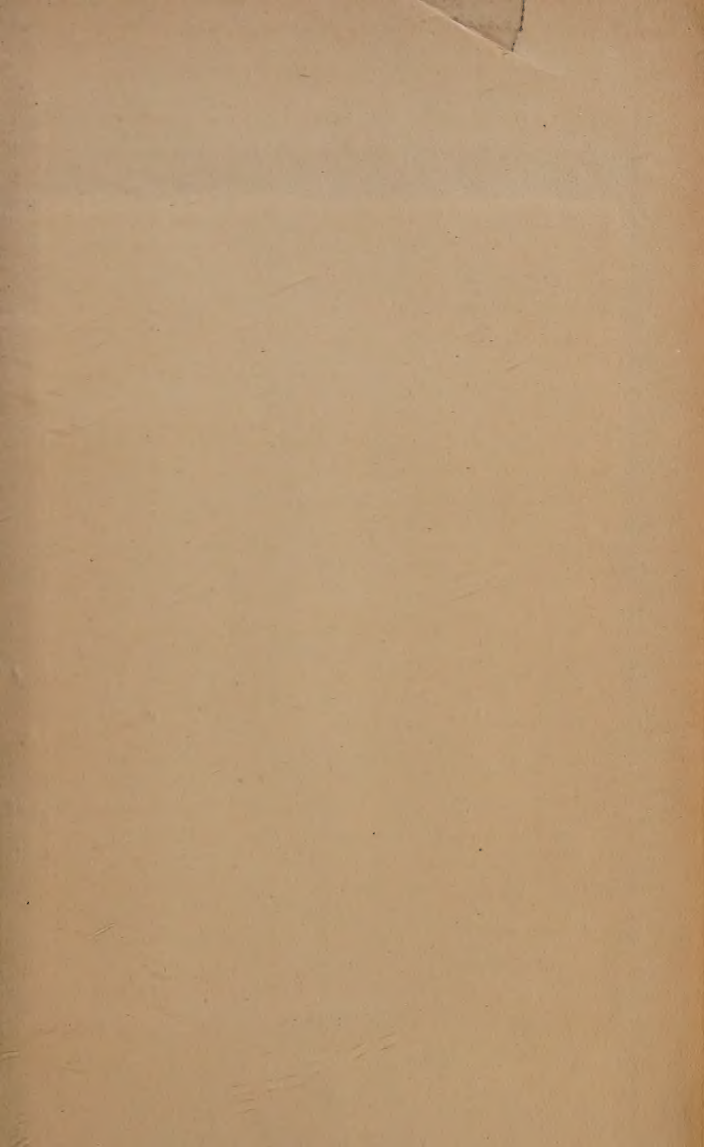
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